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2

MAP
of the Roads of Part of
ANDALUSIA,
comprised between the Meridian of Granada to Cadiz, Guadalquiver & the Straits of Gibraltar.
No 1.
CORDOVA
Guadalquivir R.
La Carlota
Carmona
Ecija
SEVILLE
Alcala de Guadaira
Lucena
Antequera
Loxa
GRANADA
Alcala la real
Alcaudette
JAEN
Montefrio
Malaga
Velez Malaga
Andujar
Baena
Iznaja
Benamegi
Estepa
Herrera
Alameda
Xenil R.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Spanish Leagues 20 to a Degree
5
10
15
20

A

VIEW OF SPAIN;

COMPRISING

A DESCRIPTIVE ITINERARY,

OF

EACH PROVINCE,

AND A

GENERAL STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY;

INCLUDING

ITS POPULATION, AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, COMMERCE, AND FINANCES;
ITS GOVERNMENT, CIVIL, AND ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENTS;
THE STATE OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES, AND LITERATURE;
ITS MANNERS, CUSTOMS, NATURAL HISTORY, &c.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

ALEXANDER DE LABORDE.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

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FOURTH VOLUME.

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ACCOUNT

OF

SPAIN.

SKETCH OF THE DIFFERENT DEPARTMENTS OF GOVERNMENT, AND OF THE VARIOUS BRANCHES OF PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRY IN SPAIN.

An acquaintance with the productions, the trade, and manufactures of the separate provinces, would furnish but a very imperfect idea of the real state of Spain. The prosperity or adversity of those depends, in a great degree, upon the general laws by which the kingdom is governed, and which it will be therefore necessary first to examine. The opinion advanced, in the introduction to the present work, respecting the accumulation of the trade and wealth which Spain had at various times experienced, has already been partially developed in the

statistical account of each particular province. This will be further illustrated in the general description now to be given of the principal branches of the trade and government of Spain, and by the comparison of their present state with that in which they respectively appeared in different periods of history.

CHAP. I.

POPULATION.

" Nec numero Hispanos: nec robore Gallos, nec artibus Græcos superavimus."

CIC. ORAT. de HAR. Res. Cap. 9.

Osorio y Redin, a Spanish author, who wrote at the end of the seventeenth century, made a rough but very curious calculation respecting Spanish population. On a survey he discovered that Spain contained one hundred and fifty millions fanegas* of land capable of cultivation. Allowing that one-half of this was annually under tillage, that is, seventy-five millions; and supposing two-thirds, or fifty millions of fanegas, to be sown with wheat or rye; and one-third, or twenty-five millions,

* A measure containing 122 or 125 pounds weight of corn; and, when applied to land, a space sufficient to sow such a measure of seed; equivalent to an area of 681 toises in circumference, taking the toise at 6 feet, 340½ yards English. But taking the toise at 920,46 lines, and the English foot at 144, the number will be somewhat higher.—T.

with barley or oats; taking the average annual produce at ten fanegas of wheat and rye, and twenty fanegas of barley and oats, the result would amount to five hundred millions fanegas of wheat and rye per annum, and an equal quantity of oats and barley. Of this produce he allows four hundred millions fanegas of the latter description of grain for the support of brutes, and the remaining six hundred millions for the use of the inhabitants. He then proves that every fanega of corn ought to make sixteen pounds of bread; and, appropriating one pound and a half of bread for the daily consumption of each individual, he concludes that Spain is capable of growing sufficient corn to support seventy-eight millions of people *.

Proceeding on this given statement as a certain base, this writer assures us that Spain once had a population of seventy-eight millions; and he founds his statement on the testimonies of several writers who have treated upon the subject. In the reign of Julius Cæsar, at one time it contained forty millions of people; and at another fifty-two. This apparently-exaggerated account, however, is not devoid of probability, when it is recollected what numerous armies Spain repeatedly

* Supposing this calculation to be strictly accurate in all its parts, yet the result would not be such as here stated; six hundred millions fanegas of corn would support a population of *eighty-five* millions.

furnished

furnished for a long series of years, during the punic wars, in the time of the Romans and Carthaginians. The immense population of her towns only serve to give a very high idea of that part of the country in which they were situated. Merida was so extensive and populous as to furnish a garrison of eighty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry. At the same period the number of families enumerated in Tarragona was six hundred thousand, or about two millions five hundred thousand inhabitants. But the population of the country was not equally proportionate with these towns; for, however numerous the ruins of ancient buildings are which I have observed in my travels through Spain, they are far from countenancing an idea of such a prodigious number of inhabitants; and even the historians who have spoken upon the subject are not uniformly consistent with themselves.

The population of Spain suffered but little diminution under the dominion of the Goths; but it very sensibly decreased during the Moorish dynasty. A multitude of victims fell a sacrifice to the sanguinary sword of the conquerors; and a number, no less considerable, voluntarily exiled themselves, to avoid the pressure of the galling yoke which the victors imposed upon the vanquished inhabitants.

Spain was again repeopled by the Christians, who, conquerors in their turn, retook from the

Moors those lands which they had before rapaciously seized. Numerous foreign colonies were transplanted from Germany, and especially from France, who came into Spain to assist in extirpating the enemies of their faith, under the banners of the new conquerors of the country, and, afterward settling, they contributed to increase its population. The greater part of the troops, sent under the command of General Du Guesclin, for the purpose of placing Henry the Second upon the throne, remained in Spain. Catalonia, Navarre, and the country of Sobrarbo in Aragon, were then inhabited by numbers of Frenchmen; and many of the illustrious families in Spain may, or should acknowledge a French origin.

Navarre at that time formed a separate state, containing about eight hundred thousand inhabitants; and near the same period the states dependent upon the crown of Aragon, which constituted the kingdom of that name, with those of Valencia and Catalonia, furnished an army sufficiently large to make an able and effectual resistance to the forces sent against them by the king of France, and to conquer the two Sicilies; the town of Tarragon alone contained eighty thousand families, or three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants.

The kingdom of Grenada, subjugated by the Moors, had at the same era a numerous population. The city of Grenada comprehended seventy thousand

thousand houses, occupied by two hundred and fifty thousand persons, and furnished fifty thousand soldiers. The kingdom, of which it was the capital, reckoned the number of its inhabitants to amount to three millions, in an extent of territory seventy leagues in length by thirty in breadth.

During the reign of Ferdinand the Fifth and Isabella, in the sixteenth century, the different parts of the Spanish monarchy were united; at which time, according to the concurrent testimony of historians, its population was twenty millions; but there is every reason to believe the number to be an exaggeration, and that it should be reduced full one-third. This flourishing state of Spain, so pompously displayed by modern writers, has been minutely examined, and reduced to its proper value, in a memoir written upon the subject by M. Capmany Monpalau, an author of uncommon merit, of whom we have before had occasion to speak. In fact, nothing is found which tends to demonstrate that the country, at the period in question, was in a higher state of cultivation, its manufactures more flourishing, its roads better, or its canals more numerous, than at present; in a word, that any vestiges existed analogous to a proof of its having such a vast number of inhabitants. The population was certainly greater than it has subsequently been; but it was far from having arrived at that point to which it might have been carried. In the time of Charles the

First it diminished; yet in the reign of his son Philip, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, it was so considerable as to furnish the large armies which that prince kept up, at the same time, in Catalonia, Portugal, Holland, Flanders, and Italy. In the year 1688 it amounted to no more than twelve millions. It afterward so rapidly decreased, that its numbers were reduced to eight millions, on the death of Charles the Second, and accession of Philip the Fifth, in the year 1700. During the civil wars, which desolated Spain for the first thirteen or fourteen years of that monarch's reign, it suffered a still greater diminution. It appears by a representation*, drawn up by Don Vicente de Cangas, and presented to Philip the Fifth, that the population of the states belonging to the crown of Castile, which included nearly three-fourths of the Spanish monarchy, had not, at that period, more than four millions of inhabitants; so that the population of the whole kingdom could not then have exceeded six millions †.

* This memoir is contained in a work entitled *Questiones Criticas*, published in the year 1807.

† The states belonging to the Castilian government, consisting of twelve provinces, have at present a population of seven millions three hundred and eighty-seven thousand six hundred and thirty-two souls; whilst that of the other provinces, which are five, contain but two millions seven hundred and fifty-six thousand three hundred and forty-two.

Spain

Spain greatly increased in the numbers of people during the pacific reigns of the princes of the Bourbon family. The enumeration made by royal mandates, in the years 1767 and 1768, reported the population at nine millions three hundred and seven thousand eight hundred and four persons; and by a new census, taken in the years 1788 and 1789, by order of the king, the returns presented ten millions sixty-one thousand four hundred and seventy-eight. The latest estimate, formed in the year 1797, contains a much higher number: comparative tables will be given at the close of this article.

Abundant vestiges of its former population exist in various parts of Spain. The heights are covered with the ruins of gothic castles, mansions, &c. and through the whole country appear dilapidated chapels, and other religious edifices, in solitary places, situated in the midst of fields or uncultivated lands. These, at some period, have been parochial churches belonging to villages or hamlets, of which there remains no other trace. Such ruins occupy the sites of many ancient places, which have disappeared through the negligence of the people, or the devastating effects of intestine warfare. The number of these in Catalonia, of which nothing remains but the names, is equal to a fourth part of those which at present exist. In Aragon are reckoned one hundred

dred and forty-nine; in Catalonia three hundred and four; twelve in the kingdom of Jaen; seventy in the jurisdictions of Leon and Toro, in the kingdom of Leon; eighty-seven in that of Valencia; eleven in La Mancha; one hundred and ninety-four in New Castile; and in Old Castile three hundred and eight; constituting a sum total of eleven hundred and forty-one. Under the caliphs, kings of Cordova, twelve hundred villages enlivened the banks of the Guadalquiver; of which two hundred scarcely are at present left. In the district of Malaga, to the west of that city, were fifty villages; and sixteen only remain. The most striking features of these devastations present themselves in the kingdom of Leon. A part of the diocese of Salamanca comprized seven hundred and forty-eight villages; which number is now reduced to three hundred and thirty-three. One hundred and twenty-seven villages existed in the space of five leagues, near *des partidos de Banos y pena del rey*, on the confines of the same bishopric; only thirteen remain.

Many of the villages and hamlets still subsisting present little more than ruins, and are, in most instances, reduced to a few houses, and a small number of inhabitants; three hundred and eighty-five of this description may be enumerated in Aragon alone.

The annexed table will afford some idea of the loss

loss in inhabitants which Spain has sustained since the expulsion of the Romans:—

		Ancient population. Inhabitants.	Present population. Inhabitants.
Catalonia. *Tarragona.*	Under the Romans	2,500,000	10,000
	In the 16th century	350,000	
Estremadura. *Merida.*	Entertained a garrison in the time of the Romans	90,000	5,000
	Under the Moors	40,000	
At the commencement of the 17th century.	Jaraiejo	3,000	900
	Truxillo	12,000	4,000
	Montijo	10,000	3,600
The kingdom of Seville. *Seville.*	In 1247 more than	300,000	96,000
	In the 16th century	200,000	
Kingdom of Cordova. *Cordova.*	Under the caliphs	1,000,000	35,000
	In the middle of the 17th century	60,000	
Kingdom of Leon in the 16th century.	Arnada de Duero	6,500	3,000
	Rioseco	32,000	6,000
	Medina del Campo	60,000	6,000
	Salamanca	50,000	13,000
Old Castile in the 16th century.	Burgos	40,000	8,000
	Albu	25,000	2,500
	Valladolid	60,000	20,000
	Olmodo	15,000	2,000
	Cuellar	14,000	3,000
	Segovia, persons employed in manufactures only	38,189	12,000
New Castile in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries.	Cassarrubios	1,000	500
	Santaollala	3,000	300
	La Puellela	10,000	1,200
	Alarcon	3,000	1,000
	Valdemoro	6,000	2,800
	Toledo	200,000	25,000
In la Mancha.	Cividadreal	25,000	9,000
In Jaen.	Baeza, under the Moors	150,000	15,000
Kingdom of Grenada.	Under the Moors	3,000,000	661,661
Grenada.	In the year 1492	250,000	50,000
	In the year 1614	80,000	
Malaga.		80,000	50,000

Most

Most writers upon this subject attribute the depopulation of Spain to the discovery of America, by the emigration occasioned in its colonization, and which in a degree has been continuative to the present day. But this emigration was never so considerable as to diminish the population in those parts where the deficiency is at present most apparent, and where it was most strikingly visible at the beginning of the eighteenth century. And it is further observable, that the provinces belonging to the kingdom of Aragon, which had no participation with this emigration in its commencement, nor for two centuries after, equally partook of the languor and decay experienced by the other parts of Spain. On the contrary, the period when these provinces were called upon to form a communication with the Indies was the precise time that trade and commerce took a new turn, and received an additional stimulus, which actually increased the number of inhabitants. Had there been in the Castiles, Andalusia, and Estramadura, a population equal to that of the northern provinces, they would not have been more affected than those by their relations with the new world. The cause of this extraordinary depopulation, therefore, must be sought for in the combination of a great variety of other circumstances.

The invasion of the country by the Moors, in the eighth century, considerably diminished the population. A great number of the Spaniards fell

fell by the sword of the invaders, and multitudes fled from their homes, renounced their country, and sought an asylum in foreign countries. The numerous followers, which the Moors brought with them, when they conquered Spain, were insufficient to replace the numbers of the natives who had fallen in battle, or fled from the tyranny of their oppressors. The infection of a plague, which infested Europe in the years 1341 and 1348, spread over Spain by means of a vessel in the port of Almeria. It made a most rapid and destructive progress, continued its ravages for three years, and swept off nearly two-thirds of the inhabitants. This distressing event should be considered as the origin of the depopulation of this kingdom. The lands remained without cultivation, and most of the towns and villages, having lost their inhabitants, quickly fell into decay, and the houses became dilapidated. The few who escaped that dreadful scourge took possession of the estates of those proprietors who had fallen victims to the pestilence. Thus they acquired great additions to their property, and lands of considerable extent came into the possession of one proprietor: but they could not be properly cultivated for want of labourers, and therefore were incapable of producing subsistence for an increased population. Spain was thus deprived of the means of being repeopled, and this accounts for

for the numerous and extensive tracts of uncultivated lands visible at the present day.

The same scourge renewed its ravages at different periods in the following centuries. In the years 1483, 1488, in 1501, 1506; but the most desolating was the plague of Andalusia, that raged in the year 1649, during which, in the cities of Seville and Cadiz alone, it swept away one hundred thousand persons.

Previous to the latter period the country had suffered the terrible effects of a general scarcity; the consequences of which were infectious and fatal diseases, that carried off an eleventh part of the inhabitants.

These causes were sufficiently powerful to effect and continue depopulation in a country, where the means of preventing it, by encouraging agriculture, and attaching foreigners, had almost uniformly been neglected. Numerous other causes concurred with these to produce the same effects.

Internal warfare continued in Spain through a long series of years. The Spaniards, for nearly seven centuries, were obliged to be armed against the Moors, to effect the reconquest of their country, which the latter had unjustly alienated. Those wars, which commenced in the ninth century, did not terminate till after the taking of Grenada, in the year 1492, by the catholic kings. They had been through their whole continuance exceedingly sanguinary,

sanguinary, and millions of Spaniards fell in the dreadful and reiterated conflicts.

More, probably, fell also in the civil wars, which frequently spread desolation through this divided kingdom. Not satiated by the combats they had so long maintained with the Moors, the Spaniards for a long period became mutual victims to intestine quarrels; and the rancour with which these were conducted was apparently more envenomed, by the ravages they committed in their own country, than what they had evinced against their foreign enemies. The reigns of Orduno the Second and Sancho the First, kings of Leon, in the tenth century; those of Alphonso the Sixth, and Alphonso the Eighth, also kings of Leon at the end of the eleventh and commencement of the thirteenth centuries; those under the kings of Castile, Sancho the Second, in the eleventh century; Alphonso the Wise, and Sancho the Fourth, in the thirteenth; Peter the Cruel in the fourteenth; Henry the Fourth, or the Weak, in the fifteenth; were signalized by civil wars of long duration, which harassed and depopulated the territories of those princes. Aragon, though it formed a separate independent state, was not more tranquil. During those civil wars it generally espoused the Castilian cause, and often was disturbed by intestine commotions, which were seldom allayed without bloodshed and slaughter. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

turies were pre-eminently the periods most distinguished for the long and sanguinary wars, which disturbed the reigns of Peter the Third, and John the Second. The civil warfare was again renewed after the expulsion of the Moors. Half the kingdom of Spain took up arms in the reign of Charles, in the sixteenth century. This was the war designated in the Spanish annals under the name of "*de las comunidades.*" In the following century the province of Catalonia singly occupied the attention and employed the troops of Philip the Fourth; nor was it reduced to submission till after a resistance of twenty-two years.

The number of persons who fell victims in these continued and sanguinary struggles must have been beyond calculating. They have never been replaced; nor have any adequate means been adopted to invite or facilitate the effecting a new population. But these are not the only wars in which Spain has been engaged. In the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, during the reigns of Ferdinand the Fifth, Charles the First, Philip the Second, Philip the Third, and Philip the Fourth, vast armies, with numerous bodies of men to recruit them, were frequently sent abroad into Italy, Germany, Holland, Flanders, and Portugal. A very small part of those ever returned to Spain. Some fell in battle, some by disease, and some by famine. Those who survived at the conclusion of a peace, destitute of pay, and the means

means of retiring to their own country, either enlisted among the troops of other monarchs, or took up their abode in those places in which they happened to be left, and thus effectually became so many men for ever lost to Spain: the number was incalculable in the course of three centuries. Those distant wars contributed more to the depopulation of the kingdom than all the other causes combined. The possessions which Spain held in Italy and Flanders were equally injurious to her population. Multitudes of Spaniards emigrated into those countries to seek their fortunes, or obtain employment. Few of them ever returned. Some died; others took up their settled residence, married, had children, formed establishments, and never left the country. This took place for the space of two hundred years.

The victories gained by the Spaniards over the Moors produced a similar effect. As soon as the former had obtained repossession of the country, the greater part of the latter retreated into Africa, or retired into other parts of Spain, still occupied by their countrymen. The conquered country remained half peopled, and could only be repeopled at the expence of the other districts of Spain, from whence it might receive a fresh colonization by diminishing their population.

A fanatic and mistaken zeal adopted a destructive policy, by proscribing, on account of their religious tenets, two wealthy and industrious peo-

ple, the Jews and the Moors. These were peculiarly valuable for their intimate acquaintance with agriculture, arts, trade, and commerce. An edict issued at Grenada, the 30th of March, 1492, against the advice of the ministry and many members of the supreme council, ordained, that every Jew who did not confess Christianity within six months should be constrained to quit all countries under the government of the Catholic kings. Another equally impolitic edict was published in the year 1614, by which numbers of Moors, who, after being subdued, had remained peaceably in Spain, were expelled the country. About one hundred thousand Jewish families pretended to be converted, and in the issue became victims to the Inquisition. More than eight hundred thousand Jews left the kingdom, and went into France, Italy, Africa, and the Levant, and carried with them the wealth and other species of property which they had acquired by industry and trade. All the Moors, to the amount of two millions, departed, leaving their towns and villages deserted. These two measures might be apparently politic*, but they were injurious in reality, and instantaneously deducted from the number of inhabitants in Spain three millions of persons. Such are the principal causes of Spanish depopulation; yet

* See what has been advanced on this subject in the introductory discourse.

many

many circumstances, less prominent, and not so generally known, have contributed a certain share.

The depredatory cruizing of the Barbary pirates, for the space of three hundred years, did immense injury to the population of this kingdom, by the vast numbers of captives they made both at sea and by incursions on the coasts. According to a calculation drawn up by the Count de Campomanes, there were always, during the last century, thirty thousand Spanish prisoners at Algiers; and, although numbers perished from the cruel treatment they received in slavery, while many, to avoid it, embraced Mahometanism, and others were redeemed, yet the number of thirty thousand was usually complete *.

The *Mesta*, an establishment which will be described under the article Agriculture, further contributes to diminish the number of inhabitants in a large portion of Spain. The immense quantity of land converted into a state of pasturage in that part of the kingdom where it is established, affords few means for the lower classes of people to obtain a subsistence, or to procure the necessaries of life, by being occupied in the labours of husbandry. Some consequently languish in misery and want, others turn mendicants and vagrants, and others become a nuisance of a worse sort to general so-

* This no longer exists since Spain has been at peace with Algiers, and has kept up a respectable maritime force.

ciety. The Mesta, on the other hand, employs forty or fifty thousand persons in taking care of the flocks of sheep, who lead a wandering life, and seldom or ever marry.

The great proprietors are also injurious to Spanish population, by their being too extensively multiplied. The lands, for three, six, eight, twelve, and fifteen leagues in extent, often belong to one owner; the nobility and the clergy nearly possess the whole. The third part of Spain is held by the houses of Medina Celi, Alba, l'Infantado, Aceda, and some few other grandees; the archbishops, bishops, the chapter of Toledos, Compostella, Valencia, Seville, Murcia, &c. and a few of the religious orders, particularly the Benedictines and Jeronmites. The major part of these lands is under grass. It is not therefore the uniting of so many of these domains under a small number of proprietors which appears to be so objectionable; but it is the consequent improper management of the lands they include, and the deficiency of establishments for their profitable culture. The *cortijos*, or farms, usually comprize twice as much land as can well be cultivated under the management of one master, and the time occupied in taking the ploughs to the fields amounts to a moiety of what should be devoted to the labour of tillage. On the other hand, the proprietors do not overlook their servants in husbandry, but live in the cities, leaving to subalterns the management of their estates, while the manorial houses dilapidate

date into ruins. Their woods disappear by the destructive axes of their agents; the lands are but half cultivated for want of hands; labourers from other parts receive no encouragement to come and settle, for lack of the means of subsistence; and the few villages which are inhabited, are rapidly hastening to decay.

Another great evil is what is termed the *presides*. This name is given to a species of punishment which is often imprudently, and sometimes capriciously, inflicted. Every little justice of a town or village will frequently condemn to it a number of individuals for unimportant misdemeanors. Till those unfortunate persons can appear before higher tribunals, some are confined in the prisons belonging to the respective jurisdictions on the continent of Spain, and many, by far the greater number, are transported to Ceuta, Melilla, and various other places, where, under a plausible pretence that the prisoners are employed on the public works, they are suffered to remain in baneful indolence. Some are doomed for life; others for a limited time. The greater number of these become worse than before; they contract habits of sloth and idleness, are corrupted by the conversation and example of the criminal company with which they are immured, and are so many persons for ever lost to industry, to agriculture and trade, to population and the state. Spain swarms with miserable, poor, and wretched vagabonds. The former are multiplied by the facility

they find of existing by alms; and the latter consist of such as have returned from the *presides*, and, in many instances, of unfortunate peasants, who are driven from their homes by the impossibility of finding employment, or procuring necessaries to supply the demands of nature*. Both live miserably, and die prematurely. From Galicia there is a continual emigration. A swarm annually quits that province, which, dividing, some go for Italy, to Genoa and Leghorn; and others for Portugal, to Lisbon and Oporto. There they become errand lackies, porters, servants, and car-

* The mischiefs arising from the increase of vagabonds have been long known. So long since as the year 1445, prisons had been established for the confinement of persons of this description, in the kingdoms of Leon and Old Castile. But such establishments met with formidable opposition, and they were soon abandoned. At length one was again founded at Seville, in the year 1794, by *Torribio de Velasco;* and it still remains under the name of *los Torribios*. By a decree, dated the 7th of May, 1775, Charles the Third ordered that all vagabonds should be committed to houses of seclusion, or bridewells, and employed in useful labour. Immediately such places of confinement were erected at Corunna, Zamora, Cadiz, and Carthagena. In the course of time others were established at Barcelona, Cuenca, Grenada, Jaen, Murcia, Toledo, and Valladolid. Here such as were fit ought to have been prepared for the army and navy; and the children sent to charitable institutions to be taught useful trades. But the want of necessary funds for the maintenance of such establishments, and from the method adopted in the taking up these vagabonds, it cannot excite surprise that Spain is overrun with them, and that they should abound more in the places where houses are erected for their reception than elsewhere.

riers

riers of water. Those in Portugal are denominated *gallegos*, in Paris *savoyards*. The number is usually about eighty thousand. A few, after they have amassed a little money, return into their own country, others die in Portugal; many remain there, marry, and follow different occupations. These persons and their offspring are so many individuals lost to Spain. In a word, the same causes which obstruct the flourishing state of agriculture are equally obstacles to the increase of population.

The depopulation of Spain has therefore been owing to a great variety of causes, a few of which would have been apparently sufficient to have produced it. How effectual must then have been the simultaneous combination of all! Many of the latter causes still exist; but means are at length applied for their removal; improvements have been made both in agriculture and manufactures, and the result has already been an increase of population, which has been manifest within the last sixty years. But this grand object can never be obtained in a way adequate to the extent of Spain, till the laws respecting the *mesta* are abrogated. They do not encourage industry, and they do not invite labourers from other countries; on the contrary, the Spanish government has always appeared jealous of admitting strangers, and has done every thing in its power to disgust them. It were to be wished it were not more so even at the present day, and that all such kind of prejudices were

done away. The glory of a kingdom, and the happiness and prosperity of its inhabitants, does not consist in the indulging such a mistaken spirit of patriotism.

It remains to state what the present population of Spain is, and that of each particular province. The enumeration made by royal authority, in the years 1787 and 1788, form the basis of the table which I here present to the public:—

State of Spanish Population in the year 1788.

		Souls.	Souls.
Biscay	Alava	71,399	308,157
	Guipuzcoa	120,716	
	Lordship of Biscay	116,042	
Aragon			623,308
Catalonia			814,412
Asturias			347,776
Galicia			1,345803
Estramadura			416,922
Andalusia	Kingdom of Seville	754,293	1,837,024
	Kingdom of Cordova	236,016	
	Kingdom of Grenada	661,661	
	Kingdom of Jaen	177,136	
	Sierra Morena	7,918	
Kingdom of Murcia			337,686
Kingdom of Valencia			783,084
Kingdom of Navarre			227,322
Mancha			206,160
New Castile	Jurisdiction of Cuenca	266,182	933,865
	——— of Guadalaxara,	144,370	
	——— of Toledo	334,425	
	Province of Madrid	58,943	
	City of Madrid	156,672	
	Aranjuez, royal demesne	2,655	
	Le Pardo, royal demesne	611	

Old

Old Castile	Jurisdiction of Avila	115,172	
	——— of Burgos	465,410	
	——— of Old Castile	74,669	
	——— of Segovia	167,525	
	——— of Soria	170,565	1,196,964
	——— of Valladolid	196,839	
	S. Ildefonsa, royal demesne	4,331	
	The Escurial, royal demesne	2,453	
Kingdom of Leon	Jurisdiction of Leon	250,134	
	——— of Palencia	112,514	
	——— of Salamanca	210,380	665,432
	——— of Toro	92,404	
			10,143,975

A Table of the comparative Population of Spain, divided into Classes.

Provinces.	Secular Clergy	Monks	Nuns and Friars.	Convents.	Nobles.	Servants	Parishes.	Villages.	Individuals.
Kingdom of Seville .	1,609	5,935	1,573	384	6,062	17,494	303	219	754,293
Kingdom of Cordova .	889	2,101	1,109	126	999	2,477	75	63	236,016
Kingdom of Grenada .	2,334	2,899	1,197	130	1,979	7,196	490	397	661,661
Kingdom of Jaen .	747	1,176	858	105	874	4,096	118	74	177,136
Kingdom of Murcia .	1,077	2,000	646	91	4,704	6,408	101	103	337,686
Kingdom of Valencia .	3,221	5,311	1,688	225	1,076	18,963	562	550	783,084
Catalonia .	6,614	4,544	1,257	264	1,266	20,963	2,738	2,103	814,412
Aragon .	4,843	3,864	1,554	228	9,144	22,009	1,396	1,625	623,308
Navarre .	1,827	1,121	510	70	13,054	9,910	753	830	227,382
Biscay .	2,511	902	1,141	111	116,913	8,713	720	632	308,157
Asturias .	2,268	398	205	23	114,274	6,141	688	670	347,776
Kingdom of Leon .	5,598	2,064	1,570	196	31,540	25,218	2,460	2,695	665,432
Galicia .	9,382	2,394	604	98	13,781	18,968	3,683	3,658	1,345,803
Estramadura	2,782	2,060	1,748	179	3,724	11,036	415	360	416,922
La Mancha .	749	729	610	78	603	8,410	111	167	206,160
New Castile	4,676	5,949	2,845	375	12,698	50,528	1,190	1,140	930,691
Old Castile	9,014	5,564	3,210	394	146,036	36,683	4,555	3,909	1,190,180
Sierra Morena .	21	- -	- -	- -	- -	366	15	14	7,918
Royal demesnes .	78	264	12	4	9	520	5	5	10,048
Total .	60,240	49,270	22,237	3,094	478,716	276,090	20,080	19,219	10,143,975

The table containing the population of Spain, in the different periods of the monarchy, will shew the changes which the kingdom has experienced in this respect; and, by comparing these with the events that have been previously stated as the causes of depopulation, we shall be convinced of the method in which it has been effected.

A Table of the Population of Spain at different Periods.

Under the Romans, according to the general opinion, Spain contained forty millions of people; but, according to my own, not more than . . . 20,000,000

At the close of the 14th century, according to several Spanish writers, but whose statements appear exaggerated, thus:—

	Number of Persons.
States of Castile . . .	11,000,000
States of Aragon . . .	7,700,000
Kingdom of Grenada . . .	3,000,000
Total .	21,700,800

Guided by the opinions of authors better informed, and more reasonable in their statements, I cannot carry the population, at that period, higher than . 16,000,000

Under Ferdinand and Isabella, at the end of the fifteenth century, according to numerous authorities, the population comprized 20,000,000; but, by a more probable estimate, not more than 14 or . . . 15,000,000

In

In the year 1688 . .	10,000,000
1700, at the death of Charles the Second . .	8,000,000
1715, under Philip the Fifth .	6,000,000
1768, under Charles the Third .	9,307,801
1787 and 1788, in the last year of the reign of Charles the Third . . .	10,143,975

By the last census that was taken in the years 1797 and 1798, the statements of which have not yet been published, but lately were locked up in the office belonging to the minister of finance, Soler, it appears the population exceeded 12,000,000. Hence it may be observed that the population of Spain had been continually diminishing, from the time of the Romans till the year 1715, in the following proportions :—

From the time of the Romans to the end of the fourteenth century, a space of about 1,000 years	4,000,000
From the close of the fourteenth century to the end of the fifteenth, a space of 100 years, about	1,500,000
From the end of the fifteenth century to the year 1688, a space less than 200 years, nearly	5,000,000
From the year 1688 to 1700, that is, 12 years	2,000,000
Since the year 1700 to 1715 .	2,000,000
It again increased,	
From the year 1715 to 1768, a space of 33 years	3,307,804
From the year 1768 to 1788, in twenty years	836,171
Since the last period to the present, more than	2,000,000
Total increase since the year 1715 .	6,143,975

The

The number of parishes and villages has been equally increased during the same period.

	In 1768.	In 1788.
Number of parishes	18106	20080
Number of villages	16427	19219

	Parishes.	Villages.
In 20 years, therefore, Spain had an increase of	1974	2792

The number of clergy in Spain in the same period decreased in the following proportion.

	In 1768.	In 1788.
Secular clergy	65587	60240
Monks	56457	49270
Nuns and friars	27665	22337
Subaltern ministers of the church	25248	15875

Diminution of the secular clergy in 20 years	5447
——— of monks	7183
——— of nuns and friars	5328
——— of subaltern ministers of the church	9373
Total number of the clergy diminished	27331

The diminution of the clergy since the year 1788 to the present period has been comparatively much greater. In many convents the religious of both sexes have been re-united, and many become extinct by having been prohibited from receiving novices.

According to calculations which have been made, the nobility have very much decreased in Spain within the space of twenty years.

Number of grandees or nobles in 1768	722,794
Number of grandees or nobles in 1788	478,716
Diminution in twenty years	244,078

But it must be recollected that this statement is made according to the enumeration of 1768, which cannot be depended upon as an accurate statement of the number of nobles in

in Spain; for it is generally believed that many on that occasion returned themselves as noblemen, who were not such, and that numerous towns, villages, and lesser communities, in their reports, augmented the number of their nobles, with a view to facilitate the procuring a diminution of their taxes and other imposts.

As respects the division of the population see the following statement, which appears to me consistent with probability. It was published at Madrid in 1802, and appeared in the Literary Memorial of that year. According to this statement the whole population of Spain will be 10,409,879, which makes 300,000 persons more than the numeration of 1788; but 1,600,000 less than that of 1797. The error in this report is great; but the division appears more accurate.

	Numbers.
Men	5,204,187
Women	5,205,692
Out of this number there is calculated to be of	
single men, religious, or widowers . .	3,257,022
Of nuns, widows, &c. . . .	3,262,196
Total . . .	6,519,218
Married persons	3,890,661

The result of this statement is, that there exists in Spain 2,628,557 individuals of both sexes, who do not contribute, or at least are not supposed to contribute, to her population. From this view, and the progress we have already stated, it will be easy to discover, by comparative calculations with

with the detailed statements of population in other countries, the proportionate number of births, deaths, marriages, &c. which annually take place in Spain.

Respecting the proportion between the extent of territory and the number of inhabitants, no estimate sufficiently accurate has ever been made in Spain. It was attempted in the reign of Philip the Second, by *Pierre d'Esquivel;* but the result of his labours has not descended down to us. At this loss *Morales* and *Philip de Guevara* express their deep regret. For want of a more exact estimate we shall give that of Hassel, published two years ago at Brunswick in the "Statistique Européenne," or Statistical Account of Europe. I am satisfied, by many proximate calculations, that it is pretty accurate. According to this Spain contains 25,145 square leagues, of 25 to a degree, and 10,730,000 inhabitants; which will allow 425 inhabitants for every square league. It will hence be easy to ascertain the other numbers by calculating after the proportion of 9 to 25. The equatorial degree is 25 French leagues, and 15 German miles; then reckoning their surfaces as the square of their sides, 9 square German miles are equal to 25 square leagues of France.

	Square German miles.	Inhabitants in general.	Inhabitants by square miles.
The whole of Spain	9053	10730000	1185
Kingdom of Castile	6628	7278000	1098
Provinces of Madrid, Toledo, Guadalaxara, Cuenca, and la Mancha	1731	1162000	602
Burgos, Segovia, Soria, and Avila	740	915000	1236
Leon, Valencia, Toro, Zamora, Valladolid, and Salamanca	805	939000	1042
Asturias	240	348000	1450
Galicia	640	1350000	2109
Estramadura	682	427000	527
Seville	424	755000	1780

Cordova

	Square German miles.	Inhabitants in general.	Inhabitants by square miles.
Cordova	296	237000	800
Jaen	240	118000	491
Grenada and Antiquera	580	686000	1184
Murcia	250	360000	1440
Kingdom of Aragon	2145	3152000	1469
Aragon	710	624000	878
Navarre	180	190000	1055
Catalonia	580	1200000	2068
Valencia	490	933000	1904
Majorca	185	205000	1105
Lordship of Biscay, comprising Alava, Guipuzcoa, and Biscay	280	300000	1071

This statement appears more agreeable to fact; because it approximates nearer to the enumeration made in the year 1799, which amounted to above 12,000,000 of inhabitants; the increase of numbers principally appears in the provinces belonging to the kingdom of Aragon.

CHAP. II.

AGRICULTURE.

No country in Europe is so generally fertile as Spain, or has equal advantages at all seasons of the year. In this region the ancients fixed the site of the Elysian fields, and the gardens of the Hesperides. A country which, from the genial nature of the climate, aided by a superior agriculture, gave rise to those ancient traditions. When the Romans first entered Iberia, they were astonished at the highly productive and flourishing state in which they found many parts of it. The existing industry they encouraged, and Spain became at the same time the granary of their empire, and the nursery of their armies. The northern nations, who subsequently took possession of this country, might check, but they did not destroy, that fortunate disposition. As soon as they had parcelled out the lands, they turned their attention to the re-establishment of agriculture. Many of the institutions attributed to the Moors were anterior to the period, when that people took possession of Spain. The subterraneous buildings, for preserving corn, and known under the name of *sillos*, or *granaries*, were

were not their invention, but were long before in use in the time of Varro, through Betica and other provinces of Carthagena. The canals and sluices for irrigation were carried to such perfection among the Goths, that the most severe laws were enacted for prescribing and preserving the rights respecting them. Whoever turned off the water was bound to pay a large sum for every hour's trespass, or suffer corporal punishment for the offence. This fact is recorded in the code of laws attributed to the Visigoths, and in the letters of Cassiodorus. The same writer speaks of the exportation of grain from Spain, and consequently the quantity raised must have been very considerable at that time.

Agriculture under the Moors was in a still more flourishing state. That people, when they invaded and obtained possession of Spain, carried with them their methods of husbandry; they broke up the uncultivated lands, augmented the number of plantations, carried the art of irrigation to a degree now difficult of attainment, introduced the culture of rice, and greatly improved the breed of horses. Every kind of production was increased under their improving hands. Andalusia, the kingdom of Murcia, and Valencia, still retain visible marks of their skill and industry; and the era of their expulsion designates the epoch of the decline of agriculture *.

* See page 18.

The Spaniards, thus deprived of the assistance of the Moors, were necessitated to cultivate their lands themselves. But for such business they possessed neither talents, activity, nor patient industry. The general causes which tended to enervate every branch of the Spanish monarchy, under the Austrian dynasty, had an equal influence over the agriculture of the kingdom. A number of other causes, which continue to operate even to the present time, tended to produce a state of languor in the system, that will be with difficulty removed.

The soil of Spain is excellent in almost every part. To render it valuable and productive only requires a little industry. A large portion still remains in a state of waste, scarcely two-thirds of the country being under cultivation. The commons are so frequent, that the traveller may go six, eight, or ten leagues without finding the smallest trace of culture*. The rest, with the exception

* A few instances will be sufficient. Waste lands are numerous in Aragon and Murcia, and they are equally so in New Castile, viz. between the frontiers of *Aragon* and *Torrija;* between the *Bravo* and the river *Alberche;* between the confines of *Valencia* and *Aranjuez;* between *Aranjuez* and *Toledo,* towards *Alarcon,* &c. So also in Seville, and many others beyond Ecija, between *Algesiras* and *Chiclana;* between *Seville* and *Cantillana;* in a space of five leagues in the territory of *Utrera,* there are 21,000 fanegas. Thirty thousand may be enumerated in the territory of *Ciudad Rodrigo,* belonging to the kingdom of *Leon;* and still more in that of *Salamanca. Estramadura* abounds with wastes; and in *Zavala* alone, in the district

tion of a few districts, presents a languid system of slovenly husbandry.

Spain is watered by numerous rivers; yet the provinces of the interior are too dry, and their fertility is destroyed by aridity. The farmers are unacquainted with the methods of conveying water from the natural streams by artificial canals to distant parts, where sterility is owing to lack of moisture; and the art of irrigation, which is almost perfect in some provinces, is totally unknown, or not practised, in others. It has already been seen, in the second page, from the calculation of *Osorio Redin*, that Spain could furnish subsistence for seventy-eight millions of inhabitants. At present it scarcely affords sufficient for two-thirds of the population, and is under the necessity of importing a large quantity of corn from foreign countries.

The Spanish monarchs have at times attempted, by various encouragements, to rouse the spirit and invigorate the system of agriculture. Philip the Second, in the year 1621, granted the title of nobility, and exemption from military service, to such as should devote themselves to the study of agriculture. The princes of the Bourbon family granted privileges, and awarded premiums to successful cultivators, and instituted agricultural so-

district of *Badajoz*, there is an extent of twenty-six leagues in length by twelve in breadth.

cieties for the purpose of making researches, writing essays, and encouraging the landholders and occupiers to pay attention to this important subject. They attempted to establish a colony of foreigners in the Sierra Morena, with a view to bring into cultivation the waste lands of that mountainous district. But these societies, having been left to themselves, wanting the necessary incitements, without direction, and destitute of adequate funds, effected nothing. Those, however, of Saragosa and Biscay have been marked by considerable success. The colony of the Sierra Morena did not succeed to the extent it might have done, owing to a concatenation of circumstances, which it was impossible either to foresee or prevent.

The languishing state of agriculture, connected with the state of population, was owing to a variety of causes, which it is intended here to elucidate.

Spain has not sufficient strength for the cultivation of her lands. The population is too confined. Numbers of persons, who might occupy themselves in so useful an employment, devote themselves to arts and sciences, trade and commerce, the law, and the army. They leave the country and the villages to inhabit the cities and towns, where they become bankers, merchants, artizans, or labourers. The inconvenience arising from this circumstance has been felt and acknowledged; and

and lately attempts have been made to remedy it, by procuring foreign craftsmen, and leaving the natives to cultivate the soil.

A multiplicity of other causes further contribute to diminish the number of husbandmen.

1. Galicia experiences a continual emigration, which consists principally of country people, who go, as we have previously stated, to Madrid, Cadiz, &c. and especially to Portugal; the number generally reckoned to live in the latter is from sixty to eighty thousand.

2. Mendicants and vagrants are very numerous in Spain; not more exist in any country in Europe.

3. The number of persons sent to the *Presides*, frequently for the most trivial faults, is very considerable. These constitute so many lost to society, and consequently to agriculture.

4. The facility afforded in Spain for persons to enter into the church, where they find resources against the attacks of indigence, has arrived to such a degree, that it is considered a reflection upon such families, who owe their distinction merely to the habit they wear; and tends greatly to multiply the evils of celibacy. The secular and regular clergy, with the subaltern ministers and servants of the church, notwithstanding they are less numerous here than in many parts of Europe, are considerable, and necessarily contribute to diminish agricultural strength.

5. Spain abounds with small schools, in which children are taught to read and write, with the first elements of the Latin tongue. They are established in most of the towns, and even the villages. The multiplicity of them is a great evil. The facility thus afforded of obtaining instruction, free of expence, excites in the peasantry an ambition to have their children well educated, and these having been habituated to learning in early life, feel a disgust and contempt for the pursuits of husbandry.

6. Spain has seventeen universities, and in the several colleges there are many schools of divinity and philosophy; more especially in the religious houses, which are scattered not only through considerable towns, but also through those parts of the country which are thinly inhabited. These monastic schools are open to every one. They are established in the very places where the young people reside, who, of course, can attend them without the inconvenience of distance, still live under their parental roof, and receive an education without paying for it. With similar ease they can study in the schools of the universities. In most of the places where such institutions have been established there are public alms among particular persons, and nearly the whole body of the clergy, for the support of indigent students. A distribution of money, bread, soup, meat, and vegetables is daily made about the same hour at the

gate

gate of the different convents, where the students assemble in numbers to partake of those doles; and scarcely is the distribution over at one place before they resort to another. Many of them obtain a residence in particular families, where they participate in the duties and the table of the domestics. Numbers in the evening repair to the corners of the streets, where they solicit alms of passengers, under the pretext of purchasing books, shoes, &c. These facilities encourage sloth and idleness, veiled under the mask of a taste for learning. There were estimated in Spain, according to the enumeration made by order of the king, in the year 1788, forty-seven thousand three hundred and twelve students. How many among that number would have been more usefully employed in the cultivation of the soil!

7. The number of officers belonging to the different judicial courts is equally enormous. In the year 1788 there were reckoned five thousand six hundred sixty and three lawyers, and nine thousand three hundred and fifty-one scriveners. What then must be the number of judges, justices, attornies, doorkeepers, constables, secretaries, clerks, writers, and other subordinate agents of justice?

8. One principal object of Spanish luxury is, the retaining numerous domestics, the greater part of whom are unprofitable, and even injurious to their masters' service. By the enumeration of 1788,

they amounted to two hundred sixty-six thousand and eighty-six. One-third of these employed in agriculture would be infinitely more profitable.

9. Women are scarcely ever seen in tradesmen's shops; on the contrary, shopmen are very much increased. The former would be able to conduct much of the business in retail shops, as is the case in most other countries, which would greatly diminish the number of men at present employed in such feminine occupations.

10. The offices belonging to the different departments of government overflow with the multitudes of persons attached to them throughout every part of the kingdom. The reduction of these would be a desirable branch of economy, and furnish a number of persons to asssist in agriculture.

A brief recapitulation will be sufficient to show to what an extent agriculture must suffer by the vast numbers removed, by their occupations, from affording assistance in the cultivation of the soil. Spain has a population which contains ten millions one hundred forty-three thousand nine hundred and sixty-five persons; of these the women, children, and old or infirm men, which amount to nothing in this kind of computation, constitute five-eighths of the whole: thus the population will be reduced to about three millions eight hundred and three thousand nine hundred and eighty-

one

one men. From this number must be subtracted as follows:

	Persons.
Secular and regular clergymen	125,000
Land forces	149,956
Seamen and marines	101,379
Nobility	478,716
Students	47,312
Counsellors	5,673
Scriveners	9,351
Domestics	276,090
Persons employed in collecting the taxes	27,922
Total	1,221,799

The number of three millions eight hundred and three thousand nine hundred and ninety-one men, is thus reduced to two millions five hundred eighty-two thousand five hundred and ninety-two.

If there be a further subtraction of those who emigrate from Galicia, and go to reside at Madrid, Cadiz, and more especially in Portugal; mendicants, vagrants, those who go to the colonies, those who are subject to the *presides*, those who devote themselves to the arts and sciences, agents of the universities, artizans, judges, officers attached to the courts of justice, bankers, merchants and their clerks, manufacturers, carmen, carriers, persons employed in the public offices of government, officers about the court, the idle and those who live without business, who are more numerous

ous in Spain than any other country; the first number will be still more reduced.

The conclusion resulting from this statement is, that Spain does not possess power by any means adequate to the culture of her lands; nor will she be able, without calling in the aid of foreigners, or paying the most pointed attention to the increase of her population.

The loss of much time may be added to the other inconveniences arising from the want of agrarian strength. The heat of the climate will not permit persons to work in the open fields for a long time together. The Spanish labourer takes his *siesta* and smokes his *cigarros*, during which intervals his work ceases. The multiplicity of feasts lessens the number of working days. It is true that the former have been virtually much abridged; but then persons are obliged on such days to attend mass, and this occasions much loss of time, especially to such labourers as are occupied at a distance from a church. Many also entertain scruples of conscience respecting the working on such holydays, though they have been suppressed. The diocese of Toledo still retains forty-one feast-days, which added to fifty-two Sundays make the sum of eighty-three days; leaving only two hundred and sixty-two for the purposes of labour, even supposing the peasants would labour on those holydays which have been suppressed. The titular saints of particular parishes,

rishes, the patron saints of private families, and the guardian saints of individuals, are so many other feasts by which labour is temporarily suspended. It may be said of these feasts to saints, as well as of the frequenting a multitude of hermitages and isolated chapels, that they celebrate some for the sake of vows, some for devotion, some through custom, and others, by far the greatest number, for the pleasure of rambling *.

The difficulties attending carriage and transporting of heavy articles impedes the progress of agriculture. The roads in Spain were formerly almost impassable; carriage was extremely difficult, and could only be performed on the backs of horses, asses, or mules, which was both tedious and expensive. Some years since, excellent roads were made throughout the kingdom; but the Spaniards have not been induced to become

* The count de Capomanez states the sum lost every feast-day, by the suspension of labour, at six millions of reals, or four millions of livres tournois. He here comprehends those employed in trade and manufacture, &c. &c. as well as those occupied in agriculture.

If, as Dr. Adam Smith has proved, labour, in a national point of view, constitutes wealth, what a prodigious loss does Spain annually experience by the effects of a blind superstition! Taking the livre at tenpence English, then 4,000,000 livres are equal to 166,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* the loss of one day. Allowing the number of feast-days thus retained to be forty-one in the year, the annual deficiency will amount to 6,833,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*!—T.

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more industrious, nor to forego their ancient customs; scarcely any waggons are employed, and Catalonia and the kingdom of Valencia are almost the only provinces in which carts have come into general use. The difficulty attending carriage renders the conveyance of provisions to a market expensive, and, while it diminishes their value to the grower, advances the price to the buyer; thus does it operate to the discouragement of agriculture. This remark should be understood principally as applying to the central provinces, which have fewer communications than the rest.

The uncertainty of a market for commodities is another obstacle. The government is frequently changing the laws respecting exportation. It was permitted in the year 1765; prohibited in 1769; and again allowed in 1783. These variations render the spirit of agriculturists timid and wavering.

The price of provisions is very high in Spain *; and

* The price of provisions has been greatly advanced within a century. According to *Osorio*, who wrote in the year 1687, bread in his time sold for half a real *de vellon*, or two sols and six deniers tournois (one penny $\frac{6}{12}$ths) the pound; and twelve ounces of beef or mutton alike cost half a real *de vellon*, or two sols six deniers tournois (one penny $\frac{6}{12}$ths). At present bread usually sells at seven *quartils*, or four sols tournois (twopence) the pound; and beef, as well as mutton, fourteen and fifteen *quartils*, that is, eight or nine sous tournois (fourpence or fourpence halfpenny) the pound. This rise may have been owing

and the wages of labourers must be very considerable; for if only moderate, they are not sufficient for them to procure the necessaries of life. Provisions, though very dear, are yet but of small value to the farmers. The produce of the soil, exclusive of the expences of culture and carriage, are charged with various imposts, tolls, and taxes, which the local magistrates lay upon them, according to the price for which they are supposed to sell. They pay also in some provinces, as in Catalonia and the kingdom of Valencia, considerable dues to the manorial lords. All these circumstances form additional discouragement to improvements in agriculture.

That great proprietors are injurious to the cause has already been observed.

In a word, regarding as we do, in a general point of view, the *mesta* as one of the most powerful causes which impede agricultural improvement, we shall treat of it particularly here.

Sheep and Wool.

Spain appears always to have been a country abounding with flocks, and that it produced the finest wool may have been owing to its pastures being peculiarly adapted for sheep; or, which is

owing to the increase of wealth in Europe, and has been only correlative with that of other countries.

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more probable, because the climate is favourable to a tenuity of staple. The wools of Betica * and Cantabria were in high esteem at Rome, for their fineness, length of fibre, and colour. The one, Martial observes, was the colour of a young maiden's hair, and the other of a darker hue. The care of flocks seems to have been a favourite occupation among the Goths, who preferred this kind of labour to the culture of the soil. The Moors did not set an equal value upon sheep, and the breed degenerated towards the beginning of the fourteenth century. It was again improved and restored by a circumstance not generally known, and to which is attributed the superiority of Spanish wool. In the year 1394, when the hereditary prince of Castile, son of king Henry the Third, married Catherine, the daughter of the duke of Lancaster, that princess brought with her from England a numerous flock of peculiarly fine sheep. Those animals so throve in the climate of Castile, that they speedily formed one of the most considerable branches of commerce; the manufacture of cloth flourished in proportion; and so rapidly, that in the year 1419, the deputation of the kingdom requested the prohibition of the sale of foreign cloth, lest it might injure the use of the national fabrics.

Two kinds of these sheep are distinguished in

* Martialis Epigrammatum, lib. 1. E. xcvii.

Spain.

Spain. One travel throughout the year, and the others remain at home. The latter always abide in the fields, and by night are penned in the sheepfolds. The first receive the appellation of *Merinos*, or *transhumantes*. The second belonging to Catalonia, Aragon, Biscay, the kingdoms of Valencia, Murcia, and Andalusia, never travel; while those of the Castiles, the kingdom of Leon, and Estramadura, are constantly on foot. The number of stationary sheep may be reckoned at eight millions, and of migratory at about five millions. The last will be described under the article *Mesta*.

The different provinces of Spain have their peculiar flocks, the numbers of which considerably vary, but the resulting advantages are not the same. The stationary sheep remain throughout the year upon the lands of their owners, which, by manuring, they contribute to fertilize. In this case the proprietors reap a double advantage—the produce in wool, and the increased fecundity of their farms. The migratory flocks never remain upon the lands of their owners; during summer they range upon the mountains, and in winter upon the plains, or valleys, where they are re-assembled. The benefit the owners derive from these, is little more than the profit of the wool. Hence it arises that in those provinces where the sheep are stationary the lands are more strengthened and enriched than in the others, the soil is more

more consistent, and better prepared to develope a vigorous and flourishing vegetation. On the other hand, in those provinces where the sheep are migratory, the lands are jejune and sterile, the soil less tenacious, more friable, and consequently less productive. Although the flocks of Catalonia cannot well be increased, yet they do not produce annually more than thirty thousand quintals* of wool. In some parts of this province the sheep feed upon the adjacent mountains during the summer months.

The kingdom of Valencia contains fewer flocks than the province of Catalonia. These furnish annually about twenty thousand quintals of wool. It must, however, be recollected that this province is much smaller than that; in proportion to extent, therefore, the flocks may be as numerous as those of Catalonia, and it is capable of supporting a still larger number.

The kingdom of Murcia has very few flocks; they are found on the farms situate in the valleys, and at the bases of the mountains: *Huerta* contains scarcely any.

The four kingdoms of Andalusia possess numerous flocks.

Estramadura is a province abounding most with flocks, if all are taken into the account, which annually winter there. But most of those consist

* A quintal is one hundred French pounds weight. The French pound in grains is to the English as 7561 to 7000.

of

of migratory sheep, which belong to other provinces, and pass the summer months upon the distant mountains. This province, properly speaking, does not possess a sufficient number for manuring its lands.

In the two Castiles and the kingdom of Leon there are numerous sheep, but the flocks are migratory, which, as they never remain upon the lands belonging to these provinces, contribute nothing to their fertility.

Every farmer in Galicia keeps a quantity of sheep proportionate to the extent of land he cultivates. The flocks of the Asturias are also nearly in proportion to the lands capable of cultivation in that province.

Biscay and Navarre have their peculiar flocks, which are stationary, and consequently tend to the amelioration of the soil.

The number of sheep in Aragon is small, when compared with the extent of the province. They are distributed in different districts, chiefly in those of *Benavarra*, *Albarrazin*, *Belchita*, *Carinena*, and *Saragosa*; the greatest proportion is in *Jaca* and *Cinco-Villas*. The whole of them do not annually produce more than twenty-four thousand quintals of wool.

The time and mode of shearing the sheep, and the kinds of wool they bear, will be described in the account of the *Mesta*.

The quantity of wool annually produced by

the collective flocks of Spain is about five hundred thousand quintals, one half of coarse or common wool, and the other half fine wool; a moiety of the latter is the produce of the migratory sheep.

The wools of Spain are in general excellent, being principally long and fine in the staple, and soft and silky to the touch; but that borne by the migratory flocks obtains the pre-eminence. Yet there are some districts where the flocks are stationary, and yet bear wool equally fine with that of the migratory flocks. Of this description are the sheep in some parts of Estramadura, and those in the environs of Segovia, where the flocks are stationary, and in some parts of Aragon. Considerable differences exist also between districts of the same province; for instance, the wools of *Benasqua*, and that of *Partido d'Albarrazin*, are the most beautiful and fine; and that of the latter surpasses the former district. In general, the finest wools are those of the environs of *Segovia*, of the country of *Buytrago*, some leagues to the eastward of that city; those of *Pedroza* to the north of it; and those of *Avila*, *Leon*, and *Aragon*.

The fineness of staple, so peculiar to Spanish wools, has generally been attributed to the custom of making the flocks travel from pasture to pasture. But many permanent flocks in the vicinity of Segovia, in Aragon, and divers other parts of Spain, it has been observed, bear wool equally fine with the migratory sheep. The nature of the soil and

and the climate conduce more than any other causes to produce this happy effect. The equal temperature which the flocks constantly experience both summer and winter, by their abiding during the latter in the southern plains and valleys, and during the former ranging the mountains of the north, together with their remaining in the open air night and day, have been supposed to contribute to the amelioration of the fleece. The experiments made in France by M. Daubenton, and at the institution of Rambouillet, seemed to corroborate this conjecture. But the result of those experiments does not amount to demonstration; for I have had an opportunity of observing, for the three years I have been in possession of a large flock of Spanish sheep, which I selected and imported myself, that the quality of the wool has not suffered the smallest deterioration since their abode in France; and the lambs they have produced have not degenerated in the least degree from the ewes, but equally preserve their symmetry and beauty.

Mesta.

The *Mesta*, which, in the general acceptation of the term, signifies a mixture of two or more sorts of grain, and is equivalent to the English word *maslin*, is the uniting the flocks belonging to several different proprietors into one collective

body, which does not strictly attach to any country, but travels backward and forward twice in the year, passing part of it at one place, and part in another. This collection is formed by an association of proprietors, consisting of the nobles, persons in power, members of rich monasteries and ecclesiastical chapters, who feed their flocks on the waste lands, as is done on the commons in England. These flocks they call *Merinos*, or *transhumantes*.

This custom, first introduced by circumstantial necessity, in process of time was converted into a claim, which long possession has now changed into a prescriptive right. It rests at present upon the support of those laws and ordinances which have favoured, protected, and perpetuated the usurpation.

The origin of this custom must be referred to the era in which the great plague ravaged Spain, and destroyed two-thirds of the population. The few persons who survived that destructive scourge took possession of the lands which had been vacated by the death of their former occupiers. These they united with their own for the purpose of forming large properties; but not possessing sufficient means for the cultivation of such extensive domains, they were obliged to convert nearly the whole into pasturage, and confine their attention principally to the care and increase of their flocks. Hence has arisen the vast quantities of

of pasture lands which occupy the greater part of Estramadura, the kingdom of Leon, and other provinces. To this cause, among others, may be attributed the prodigious quantity of uncultivated lands discoverable through the whole kingdom; and hence so many proprietors, who possess extensive tracts of territory, yet have no titles to their estates, and are therefore denominated *Dueños-voceros*.

The flocks which, when united, form the *Mesta*, usually consist of about ten thousand sheep in each. Every flock is conducted by an officer, called a *mayoral*, who superintends the shepherds, and directs the route. It is essential that he should be an active man, well acquainted with the kinds of pasturage, the nature of sheep, and methods of treatment. The *mayoral* is allowed a horse and one hundred *doublons*, or fifteen hundred livres tournois (thirty pounds eight shillings sterling) per annum. Placed under him are fifty shepherds, who are divided into four classes. The wages amount to one hundred and fifty reals, or thirty-seven livres ten sols (one pound eleven shillings and three-pence) per month, for the first class; one hundred reals, or twenty-five livres (one pound and eleven-pence) for the second; sixty reals, or fifteen livres (twelve shillings and ten-pence) for the third; and forty reals, or ten livres (eight shillings and four-pence) for the fourth: exclusive of these wages, each is allowed

a daily ration of bread, weighing two pounds. They receive individually twelve reals or three livres (two shillings and sixpence) for travelling expences, when they commence their journey in the month of April or May; and the like sum on their return in October. To each shepherd is granted the privilege also of keeping a few sheep and goats, but the wool and hair belong to the proprietor of the flock; he takes himself the increase, the flesh, and the milk; but he cannot take any part of these away. The number of persons thus employed in the care of the whole of the flocks which compose the *Mesta*, are about forty-five or fifty thousand. The dogs are also numerous, fifty being the allowance to each flock.

The number of sheep which are thus made to migrate has varied at different periods. It very much decreased during the seventeenth century. It was again increased in the eighteenth. In the sixteenth the enumeration comprised seven millions. At the commencement of the seventeenth, in the reign of Philip the Third, they were reduced to two millions five hundred thousand. Ustaria states the number in his time, about the end of the same century, at four millions; they amount at present to near five.

The flocks are put in motion the latter end of April, or beginning of May, leaving the plains of Estramadura, Andalusia, the kingdom of Leon, and Old and New Castile, where they usually winter; they

they repair to the mountains of the two latter provinces, and those of Biscay, Navarre, and Aragon. The mountainous districts most frequented by these flocks in New Castile are those of Cuenca; and in Old Castile, those of Segovia, Soria, and Buytrago. The sheep while feeding on the mountains have occasionally administered to them small quantities of salt *. It is laid upon flat stones, to which the flocks are driven, and permitted to eat what quantity they please. During the days the salt is administered, the sheep are not allowed to depasture on a calcareous soil, but are moved to argillaceous lands, where they feed voraciously.

At the end of July the ewes are put to the rams, after separation has been made of those already with lamb. Six or seven rams are considered sufficient for one hundred ewes.

In September the sheep are ochred, their backs and loins being rubbed with red ochre, or ruddle, dissolved in water. This practice is founded upon an ancient custom, the reason of which is not clearly ascertained. Some suppose, that the ochre uniting with the oleaginous matter of the fleece, forms a

* The shepherds are allowed twenty-five quintals, of a hundred pounds each, of salt for every thousand sheep.

The poids de marc of France, equivalent to the pound avoirdupois of England, is in a proportion of nearly $15\frac{1}{2}$ to $14\frac{1}{2}$; the former containing 7561 grains troy, and the latter 7000: the quintal therefore of a hundred pounds is less than the English hundredweight.—T.

kind of varnish, which defends the animal from the inclemency of the weather. Others think the ponderosity of this earth prevents the wool growing too thick and long in the staple. But the more eligible opinion is, that the earth absorbs the superabundant perspiration, which would otherwise render the wool both harsh and coarse.

Toward the end of the same month the flocks recommence their march. Descending from the mountains, they travel towards the warmer parts of the country, and again repair to the plains of Leon, Estramadura, and Andalusia. The sheep are generally conducted to the same pastures they had grazed the preceding year, and where most of them had been yeaned: there they are kept during the winter.

Sheep-shearing commences the beginning of May, and it is performed while the sheep are on their summer journey, in large buildings called *Esquileos*. These, which are placed upon the road, are capable of containing forty, fifty, and some sixty thousand sheep. They are erected in various places; but the principal are in the environs of Segovia, and the most celebrated is that of *Iturviaca*. The shearing is preceded by a pompous preparation, conducted in due form, and the interval is considered a time of feasting and recreation. One hundred and twenty-five men are usually employed for shearing a thousand ewes, and two hundred for a thousand wethers. Each sheep

sheep affords four kinds of wool, more or less fine according to the parts of the animal whence it is taken. The ewes produce the finest fleeces, and the wethers the heaviest: three wether fleeces ordinarily weigh on the average twenty-five pounds; but it will take five ewe fleeces to amount to the same weight.

The journey which the flocks make in their peregrinations is regulated by particular laws, and immemorial customs. The sheep pass unmolested over the pastures, belonging to the villages, and the commons which lie in their road, and have a right to feed on them. They are not, however, allowed to pass over cultivated lands; but the proprietors of such lands are obliged to leave for them a path ninety *varas*, or about forty toises * (eighty-four yards) in breadth. When they traverse the commonable pastures, they seldom travel more than two leagues †, or five and a half miles a day; but when they walk in close order over the cultivated fields, often more than six, or near seventeen miles. The whole of their journey is usually an extent of one hundred and twenty, thirty, or forty leagues, which they perform in thirty or thirty-five days.

* The French toise consists of 920,46 lines, the English yard of 432; 40 toises therefore contain 84 yards $\frac{432}{312}$, or nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of a yard.—T.

† The lieue terrestre, or league, by land in France consists of 14576$\frac{4}{5}$ feet, the English mile of 5280; the English league by land therefore of three miles exceeds that of France 1274 feet, or rather more than a quarter of a mile.—T.

The

The price paid for depasturing the lands, where they winter, is equally regulated by usage, and is very low; but it is not in the power of the landed proprietors to make the smallest advance. The *Mesta* has its peculiar laws, which were originally made by the parties interested, the proprietors of flocks, and received the sanction of several sovereigns of Spain, among whom was Charles the First, who approved and confirmed them in the year 1544. A particular tribunal also exists, under the title of "*honrado consejo de la Mesta,*" or *the honourable council of the Mesta.* This court, in which one of the council at Castile presides, is composed of four judges, denominated "*Alcaldes mayores entregadores,*" each having a fiscal or exchequer, and an escheator or *Alguasil mayor.* The cognizance of this court superintends the preservation of the privileges belonging to the *Mesta.* The judges levy upon the shepherds and their flocks pontage, parcage, and other tolls; they settle the disputes and quarrels among the shepherds; direct the route the flocks ought to take in their journeys to and from the mountains; regulate what occurs on their passage; settle what respects their pasturage; in a word, they adjust every concern in which the *Mesta* can be supposed interested in the slightest degree. The proprietors of flocks, and even the shepherds, possess, to a certain extent, a power of *committimus,* or commitment, which they very frequently abuse. They have the improper privilege of

of citing all kinds of persons, of whatever age or condition, before the *Mesta*, under a supposition, or pretence, that their altercations, or business, have some connection, however distant, with the jurisdiction of its court.

The public opinion throughout Spain is decidedly opposed to the Mesta, against the vexatious circumstances to which it continually gives rise, and the constant obstacles it throws in the way of agricultural improvements. In fact, the grievances arising from its effects are numerous and severe.

1. The number of persons it employs is very great, forty or fifty thousand; which are so many subjects lost to the state, as to the purposes of agriculture and population; and this takes place principally in those provinces where the strength requisite for the cultivation of the soil is most deficient.

2. An immense extent of highly valuable land is converted into pasturage; and produces comparatively nothing. The consequence is, that the inhabitants of such places find no employ, nor means of providing for their wants: they are refused the necessary articles for the support of life, because the lands on which they might be grown do not produce them.

3. The cultivated lands, which lie near the route the flocks take in their journeys to and from the mountains, are subject to continual trespass, which is committed with impunity; for in vain do the owners

owners of those lands appeal against such abuses and solicit indemnity. The damages sustained on these occasions is so much greater, owing to the seasons of the year in which the journeyings of the flocks are made. The first is when the corn is generally far advanced in its growth; and the second when the vines are loaded with grapes.

4. The commonable pastures also, which are in the line of the route, are equally devastated; so that the flocks belonging to places in the vicinity can scarcely find a bare subsistence.

5. The flocks which compose the *Mesta* are unprofitable for agricultural purposes; for never being folded upon the arable lands, they consequently contribute nothing towards their fertilization.

6. The directors and shepherds are dreaded in every place through which they pass; for they exercise a most insufferable despotism, the consequence of the improper privilege they possess of bringing whoever they may choose to insult before the tribunal of the *Mesta;* whose decisions are almost invariably in favour of its servants.

These grievances have for time immemorial excited the most forcible protestations against them; the general states of the realm have incessantly requested the suppression of the *Mesta*, and the complaints and addresses of the people have been repeatedly presented at the foot of the throne. For a long series of years all appeals upon the subject

ject were in vain. They at length, however, became so loud and pressing, towards the middle of the eighteenth century, that the government found itself obliged to pay some attention to the subject. A committee was formed to make the requisite inquiry, whether it were more eligible for public utility to continue, or suppress the Mesta? and, providing the committee should determine on the former measure, what modifications might be proper to adopt for its better regulation. The persons interested were very powerful, and they made sure of evading this wise disposition for remedying the evils of the Mesta. The committee, though permanently established, have done nothing these thirty or forty years. Affairs remain in just the same state, and, as it too frequently happens, the interest of a few individuals still obtains the advantage over the public good.

Cattle.

Few horned cattle, either oxen or cows, are reared in Catalonia, Aragon, Navarre, Biscay, or Andalusia, although the mountainous districts of these provinces abound with excellent pasturage. Many more are reared upon those of New Castile and Galicia. The Asturias, and the mountainous parts of Burgos, in Old Castile, are the two divisions of Spain, where this branch of rural economy is most cultivated. In the latter numbers

bers of cows are bred, and they constitute the principal wealth of these countries, supplying the inhabitants with plenty of good milk, which is manufactured into excellent cheese and butter. In these provinces alone a sufficient quantity of the latter article might be made to supply the demands of all Spain, if the people were acquainted with the method of curing, by salting and preserving it in casks; but they are deficient in the necessary industry for such a concern.

The number of cows and oxen bred in Spain is not equal to the average consumption of the kingdom, and consequently many are imported from other countries, especially from France. The number of native cattle would be still less adequate to the demand, if this kind of animals were used in husbandry; but for such purposes mules are generally preferred.

Both mulets and mules, comprehending the males and females of this hybrid breed, form an important class of animals in Spain. They perform the labours of tillage, draw coaches, carriages, and transport on their backs, from place to place, merchandize, provisions, and all kinds of commodities. Andalusia and the kingdom of Leon are the two provinces where the greatest attention is paid to the breeding and rearing of mules: numbers come from the latter province. Many also are reared in la Mancha, between *Ciuda Real* and *Sancta Cruz de Mudela:* the latter breed

is

is esteemed excellent. The number reared, however, is not sufficient for the service of the country, and a large importation is annually made from France. The preference generally given to mules before horses and oxen for domestic use, as well as agricultural purposes, in Spain, has encouraged this branch of rural economy. In some provinces of the kingdom they have lately turned their attention more particularly, than formerly was done, to the proper breaking and training of these animals, to fit them for the respective services in which they may be subsequently employed.

Horses.

The Spanish horses have a high reputation, which they owe to the Arabs, who greatly improved the breed. The finest, at the present period, are those bred in the part of the country where that people long resided, the province of Andalusia.

Horses are reared in all the provinces of Spain; but the Asturias and Andalusia are the two countries where the people more particularly and extensively apply to this branch of economy.

The strongest horses are bred in the Asturias; the most beautiful in Andalusia. The latter are generally of a low stature, but compactly made, well-proportioned, and very elegant figures; they carry their heads remarkably well, show a bold forehand,

forehand, are full of fire and vivacity, but feeble in the joints, and unable to sustain long or violent fatigue. They possess some swiftness and gait; but they are horses better calcuated for parade than service.

The breed of Spanish horses was so famous in the time of the Romans *, that they were believed to be the offspring of the winds. Opinions were divided respecting which of the provinces had the fairest claim to preference. Pliny praised the horses of the Asturias and Galicia; Martial preferred those of his own country, Bilbilis, the present *Calatayud,* in Aragon; Justin admired those of Galicia and Lusitania, on account of their lightness and agility.

The most beautiful horses are those of Andalusia: but those in the highest estimation are bred in the environs of Arcos, of Xeres de Frontera, of Ecija, and various parts of the kingdom of Cordova. The stud at Cordova is finer, better supported and conducted than any in Andalusia. It contains six hundred animals of all ages, among which are twenty stallions: these are royal property. And the king has recently established an-

* "Circa Olysipponem et Tagum equus favonio stante obversus animalem concipere spiritum, idque partum fieri et gigni." Plinius, lib. VIII. c. 67. Varro, lib. II. de Re Rustica, c. 7. Virgil, when speaking of the Andalusian horses, observes,

"Ore omnes versæ in zephyrum stant rupibus altis."

Georg. lib. III. v. 273.

other

other stud in the vicinity of Aranjuez. This is one of those nurseries where the Spanish horses perpetuate their ancient and original symmetry. In this latter are reckoned twenty stallions and four hundred mares. The Prince of Peace also maintains here one hundred and fifty mares and eighteen stallions on his own account.

It is in contemplation to try the experiment of crossing the breeds, and one hundred beautiful mares have recently been brought to these two studs from Normandy for the express purpose.

At all periods the preservation and increase of a race of excellent horses has been carefully attended to in Spain. The mixture of foreign breeds has always been obstructed, and every precaution used to prevent the diminution of the native breed. The importation of foreign horses is absolutely prohibited; and if sometimes partial permission is granted, it is subjected to so many burthensome and expensive forms, that they operate as a strong discouragement to such as might be desirous of attempting their introduction. The exportation of Spanish horses is still more strictly prohibited, and those who may be found guilty of its infringement are subject to the severest penalties. An order expressly from the king is necessary to empower a person to export a single Spanish horse. Yet, though the laws are thus rigorous, perpetual frauds are committed. The desire and pursuit of wealth will discover a thousand ways to elude the

vigilance and caution of the wisest and most comprehensive statutes.

A committee, established in the year 1659 by king Philip the Fourth, is to the present day entrusted with powers to guarantee the preservation and increase of a valuable breed of horses; more particularly in Andalusia and Estramadura.

Notwithstanding all these precautions, the breed of horses has much degenerated, and the number of good horses is daily decreasing in Spain. The preference given to mules for domestic and agricultural purposes furnishes a ready market for the sale of them; in consequence of which more pointed attention is paid to their breeding and training than to those of horses, the demand for which is not so great. The insurmountable obstacles which are exposed to the exportation of the latter blasts the hopes which otherwise might be cherished of disposing of the colts in a foreign country, so that scarcely one is reared at the present period; the consequence of which is, that a single remount, or even an augmentation of the cavalry, is impossible.

It is further demonstrated, that a mare, when covered by an ass, is less prolific than when she is covered by a horse. And as these copulations between the different species are frequent, the inconvenience resulting is, the daily diminution of the breed of horses.

These disadvantages were not unknown in the reign

reign of Philip the Second. That monarch prohibited the use of mules in drawing coaches; but the law was never properly executed, and its operation amounts to nothing in the present time.

Pasturage for the support of all kinds of animals is very general throughout Spain. The Pyrenees, the mountains which separate Catalonia, Aragon, and Navarre from France, are covered with them. A considerable number of the collateral ranges of these mountains, which ramify and extend into the interior of those provinces, equally abound with excellent pastures. Nor is the mountainous part of Biscay less productive of grass. The mountain of *Gorveya* particularly terminates in a vast plain of excellent pasture. The mountains of the Asturias, Galicia, and Andalusia; these, together with the plains of Estramadura, almost wholly consist of pasturage. In New Castile, the mountains of *Cuenca*, the vale of *Tortuera*, the environs of *Requena*, numerous valleys, and small plains on the banks of the river Tagus, of *Xarama*, *Guadarrama*, *Cabriel*, *Jucas*, and *Alberche*, abound in rich pastures. Pasture-land of extreme fertility, and four leagues, or eleven miles, in extent, lies near *Villa-Meyor*, between *Aranjuez* and *Toledo;* and the territory of *Vellon*, for several leagues from Madrid, is covered with beautiful and rich meadows, finely interspersed with a diversity of trees. The best grasses are found generally prevalent in Old Castile, and the

mountains of *Burgos* are clothed with the richest herbage. Hence it is evident that Spain is capable of rearing an immense number of all kinds of cattle and animals.

But, on the contrary, meadows are very rare, and hay is seldom used as fodder, either for horses, asses, or mules; they are generally fed with straw, which is given whole in some provinces, and chopped in others. Oats are seldom used as provender; barley, under the name of *cevada*, being substituted in its stead. In some parts, especially in the kingdom of Valencia, *carob-beans*, the fruit of the carob-tree; they are also mixed with bran, and very generally used in Catalonia.

Plantations.

Nearly all the maritime provinces of Spain abound with wood; Biscay, Catalonia, the kingdom of Valencia, Murcia, and Andalusia, are covered with trees of various kinds, particularly fruit-trees; these they cultivate with care, and propagate them through all the districts of those provinces. But trees are as rare in the provinces of the interior as they are frequent in the maritime. The two Castiles, the kingdom of Leon, La Mancha, and Estramadura, are almost entirely destitute of wood; Old Castile has by far the least of any.

The

The government has frequently adverted to this subject, and issued very proper statutes and regulations for the encouragement of planting, and the preservation of plantations; but these orders and restrictions have almost uniformly been eluded. Inveterate prejudices have defeated the views both of public good and private utility*.

In Old Castile these prejudices appear most numerous, and strongly rooted. In this province trees are considered as favouring the multiplication of birds, by the shelter and cover they afford; and consequently to increase the ravages usually made upon the corn, vines, olives, and other fruits, by different species of the feathered tribes. There exists also a confirmed opinion, that lands which do not produce both elms and poplars are totally unfit for the growth of other trees. Upon this opinion all attempts at planting other kinds, where those do not naturally grow, is abandoned as perfectly chimerical. A similar absurd idea prevails in some provinces of France, as, for example, in Beauce, and in part of Sologne.

* A custom, not founded upon any statute, but which has the force of a law, prohibits the enclosure of estates through a large portion of Spain. This forms a great obstacle to planting. Few proprietors will be disposed to incur the trouble and risk the expense of making plantations, in places where they cannot prevent the incursions and devastations occasioned by persons trespassing, and the brouzing of cattle.

The general objection is the dryness of the soil, which is considered unfavourable to the increase and growth of trees ; but many parts, remarkable for their aridity, abound with luxuriant trees; whence it is a fair conclusion, that it would not be difficult to increase them in other places, subject to similar inconvenience. The environs of Madrid are perhaps the driest and the most denudated of trees of any part of Spain ; yet this very district formerly was covered with dense woods. If, therefore, they once existed, where is the impossibility of renewing them in the present period ? The plantations already made have succeeded very well ; for instance, all the public walks in the vicinity of Madrid, as well as the promenades within the city, the avenues leading from the different royal palaces, and particularly those which environ the country house of the duke of Alba, situated upon the *Promenade de Florida.*

Indeed the soil is not too dry in scarcely any part of Spain, but through want of proper attention and industry. The rivers are numerous ; and, in many instances, their waters might be conveyed to the lands situated in the very interior ; but in few places does there exist sufficient science or prudence to profit by these natural advantages.

The objection arising from aridity applies less to Old Castile, which is the province most bare of wood,

wood, than to any other; for the soil of this district is in general moister than any, as was observed in speaking of the grain it produced.

The injudicious method of planting in several provinces is baneful to the success of the new plantations. The young trees are frequently brought from very distant woods or nurseries, where they are taken up without the requisite precaution; little attention is paid in the carriage, and, if they do not die under these operations, they frequently do in a short time after they are transplanted. Thus the new plantations do not thrive, and the nurseries whence they were taken proportionably decrease. The trees are seldom watered after they have been transplanted, and so quickly perish for want of moisture; the effects of which are very powerful and rapid in a warm climate. In some instances the young plants are taken from woods, situated on the margin of rivers; and thus the power which contributed to resist the ravages of floods is greatly diminished; and this is no small evil in a country where many of the rivers at times become impetuous and desolating torrents. These imperceptibly undermine the lands in the vicinity, deracinate the trees adjacent, carry away a portion of the land designed for cultivation, and frequently inundate the neighbouring country.

Let us now take a brief survey of the planta-

tions in the respective provinces of the Spanish monarchy.

CATALONIA.—*Catalonia* is exceedingly rich in plantations. The mountainous districts of this province are in a great measure covered with beech, pines, holm, or evergreen oaks, robles, or cork-trees. At the foot of these mountains, in various directions, grow numerous hazle-nut and chesnut-trees, both on the sides of the hills as well as in the valleys. The plains abound with olive-trees. Mulberry-trees are comparatively neglected in this district, but almost all other kinds of fruit-trees increase, and flourish to an astonishing extent; almonds, walnuts, oranges, lemons, figs, plums, pears, apples, walnuts, cherries, apricots, and peaches, are every where abundant. Elm and willow trees fringe the margins of the rivers in Catalonia; the inhabitants are pointed in their attention to the increase of plantations, and equally careful in their preservation.

ARAGON. Plantations in this province have been too generally neglected. Scarcely any district can be mentioned in this province where trees form an object of particular culture. But within a few years past they have been exceedingly multiplied.

Within a very short space of time more than one hundred and twenty thousand trees have been planted; and this practice is continued with unabated zeal and unremitting activity. The ardour with which planting is now pursued is attributable to the well-directed exertions of the patriotic society established at Saragossa. Notwithstanding this, however, tracts of considerable extent are totally destitute of wood, and the traveller may go miles without seeing a single tree: scarcely any are found even in the environs of the villages. Fruit-trees are confined to particular districts, viz. *Alcaniz, Albarrazin, Caspa, Albalata, Arzobispo, Maello, Fresneda, Daroca, Calatayud, Almunia,*

Almunia, *Calaceyta*, *Ijar*, and *Calanda*; in these they are numerous, and produce abundance of excellent fruit; but in other parts of the province scarcely the smallest sprinkling is to be seen; not even almond-trees are found in any part of it, except in *le partido de Huesca*, although the soil of Aragon is congenial to the culture of that fruit. Nor are mulberry-trees more general; but the cultivation of them has begun to revive under the happy influence of the society at Saragossa: the same remark will equally apply to the cultivation of olives. On the other hand, the mountains are covered with pines, evergreen oaks, cork, ash, and Spanish cedar trees.

NAVARRE.—*Navarre* contains few sorts of trees which require constant and careful culture; but the mountainous districts are clothed with oak and pine: and multitudes of beech, with wild pear-trees, grow in the vicinity of *Zubiar*.

BISCAY.—*Biscay*, *Alava* and *Guipuzcoa* are mountainous countries, once abounding with dense woods and impenetrable forests. Greater part of these have been destroyed by the perpetual consumption of the numerous forges and iron-works. Much wood, however, yet remains in this part of Spain, and the mountains of Biscay in particular still exhibit extensive forests. The cultivation of trees is particularly attended to, and more are found in this than any province in the kingdom.

The mountainous part of Guipuzcoa is beautifully clothed with wood, and the hills are covered with evergreen oaks, hard oaks, chesnuts, hazle-nuts, and various kinds of fruit-trees, particularly apples, and a great variety of shrubs. Orchards are abundant in the cultivated parts, where also the oaks are carefully lopped, that they may throw out more numerous branches to furnish cordwood, which is made into charcoal for the supply of the forges: the cuttings for this purpose are made every eight or ten years. The mountains of Biscay, if a few cultivated parts of some, and the elevated summits of others, be excepted, are almost wholly planted with timber-trees, coppice-wood, or shrubs; here are evergreen

green oaks, white oaks and arbutuses.* Those parts of the country which have few woods and the soil shallow, are covered with groupes of linden trees, and a species of heath having myrtle-shaped leaves; while the heights and lands which have scarcely any depth of soil are decorated with a variety of heaths, and humbler plants. The sides of the hills and the valleys abound with grafted chesnut-trees, and numerous varieties of apple-trees. The apples of Durango are particularly esteemed. Upon the Gorveya mountain, a goosberry † or blackthorn tree is found, the leaves of which have the scent of pepper ‡, and grows in no other part of Spain. The more level parts of Biscay are well clothed with fructiferous trees, the fruits of which are delicious; among many others may be enumerated figs, cherries, walnuts, peaches and pears; the *pavies*, a variety of the peach, the fruit of which does not cleave to the stone, is of a most delicious flavour; the best are those which grow at *Godejaeta*; four varieties of luscious pears are in high esteem, the *good christian*, the *deanry*, the *bury*, and the *bergamotte*.

Most of the oaks and other large timber trees growing on the mountains of Biscay are generally covered with various species of agaric.

THE ASTURIAS.—The mountains of the *Asturias* abound with a great diversity of trees, among which are many kinds of fruit trees; such as walnuts, chesnuts, and especially apples, which are very plentiful, and a quantity of cyder is made in this province.

LEON.—The mountains of *the kingdom of Leon* are clothed with trees of different species, but principally with evergreen oaks; yet the plains and valleys are almost in a state of absolute denudation; a few fruit trees exist in some of the more fertile valleys.

* This is a large species of arbutus, the A. laurifolia of Linnæus, which the Biscayans term *borto*.

† Ribes oxyacanthus of Linnæus.—T.

‡ This in French is called *cassis*.

ESTRAMADURA.—The greater part of *Estramadura* is converted into pasturage, consequently is barren in woods. Few are found in the cultivated parts of this province; some mulberry, olive, and other fruit trees, are seen thinly scattered about, and clusters of elms, poplars, and willows grow along the banks of its rivers. Some places are distinguished by this kind of cultivation, and a greater or less variety of trees are observable of different species in the following parts; numbers of olives at Baños, a good many fruit-bearing trees between *Montijo* and *la Puebla del Calzada*; the districts of *Talavera la Vieja*, of *las Brosas*, of *Arrogyo del Puerto*, of *Ervas*, of *Baños*, of *Bejar*, and the vale of *Plasencia*, comprise numerous plantations of evergreen oaks, chesnuts, and other kinds of trees. Of these districts Vega de Plasencia has the advantage, both with respect to the number and variety of its plantations; which consist of evergreen oaks, chesnuts, mulberries, olives, and other fruit-trees in abundance. Some few of the mountains in this province are entirely covered with trees, especially the one named *Guadalupe*. Still, however, the quantity of trees will be found very small, compared with the extent of country this province includes.

ANDALUSIA.—*Andalusia* is not equally abundant in plantations throughout. It contains various kinds of trees, more especially of the fruitbearing sort, which are exceedingly numerous. La Vega, or the plain of Granada, for instance, is covered with them. Here also are woods of ash, elm, and white poplars, for one league and a half, more than four miles, long, and half a league, near a mile and a half, broad. The environs of Ronda in the kingdom of Seville abound with fruit-trees, which supply the city of Cadiz with every variety of choice fruit. Equally plenty are they at *Puerto de Santa Maria*, at *Xeres de la Frontera*, at *Arcos*, at *Ubeda*, at *Anduxa*, at *Malaga*, in the valleys bordering on *Almeria*, and those in the vicinity of Cordova. Other parts again are totally bare of trees; for example in the kingdom of Seville, the plain which leads to the city of that name from Cantillana, an extent of five leagues,

leagues, near thirteen miles, presents nothing except here and there a sprinkling of miserable olive trees.

Many of the mountains of this province are well wooded. Upon those which separate the kingdom of Cordova from that of Granada are numerous lentisks, cistuses, and evergreen oaks; on those of the kingdom of Jaen, evergreen oaks; *Sierra Vermeja* is clothed with firs and yews; the cork trees, *quercus suber*, the bark of which furnishes the useful substance *cork*, are also very plentiful upon these mountains, especially upon the *Sierra Vermeja;* a space of flinty ground of two miles and three quarters in extent near the hamlet of *Real-Monasterio*, in the kingdom of Seville, is covered with cork trees; and three leagues, about eight miles and a quarter, from the same hamlet, in the environs of *Cullero*, are large woods of them. Many of these trees grow to a prodigious size; some even measure five feet in diameter. There are also in the districts of *Fernan Nuñez*, and *Bujulanca* in the kingdom of *Cordova*, whole forests of ilexes, *quercus ilex*, and kermes-bearing oaks, *quercus coccifera* of Linnæus.

MURCIA.—*Huerta* in *Murcia* abounds with an immense number of different kinds of trees, especially mulberry, which form nearly three fourths of the whole, and the remainder principally consist of fruit trees. Mulberry trees flourish, although in a smaller quantity, in some particular places of this province, viz. at *Lebrilla*, *Tatana*, and especially at *Athama* and *Lorca*. Olives are abundant at *Molina*, *Lebrilla*, *Alhama*, *Totana*, in several valleys of *Caotillo*, particularly at *Sar*, *Jumilla*, and *Lorca*. These different districts have abundance of fruit-trees, but the varieties are few. These are, generally speaking, the only places in Murcia which contain numerous plantations; for scarcely any are found through the other parts of it. In some instances scarcely a tree appears for leagues together, and where any occur, they are straggling, and little varied, consisting chiefly of mulberries and olives, with here and there a few oaks and poplars. Orange, lemon, and palm trees are scattered about in some places; but so few

in

in number, as not to merit consideration. A portion of the mountainous districts is very well wooded, and evergreen oaks are in great plenty; many grow between *le Puerto del Infierno* and *Albatana* for the space of three leagues, eight miles and a quarter, together, where they form dense woods. Near the entrance into Almanza is an extensive wood of carob-trees, *ceratonia siliqua* of Linnæus.

VALENCIA.—The whole of the *kingdom of Valencia* is covered with trees of almost every kind. The mountains are clothed with woods, and the hills, plains, and valleys, much more so. Throughout the province carob-trees are abundant; entire woods consist of them, frequently upon spots where the soil is of inferior quality. Quantities are found at *Valera*, *Gatava*, *Marines*, *Liria*, *Murviedro*, *Benicarlo*, between *Villa-Real* and *Castellon de la Plana*, between *Castellon* and *Benicasi*, between *Fuente de la Higuera* and *la Venta de Alcudieta*. Olives are still more abundant in every part, so that it would be easier to point out the places where they do not, than where they do grow. The quantity is every where great, notwithstanding the discouragement to their culture, produced by a prohibition of the exportation of oil. Mulberries are equally multiplied with the olives; all parts of the country are covered with them; they are of the white kind, and cultivated with great care and attention. Palm-trees are scattered about in several places; but in *Elcha* and the adjacent districts they form forests of considerable extent, and constitute the principal wealth of the country. Fruit-trees grow every where in the valleys, and on the hills and mountains; in some instances they are planted promiscuously in the fields, and in others they are confined to orchards; the greatest number grow in the environs of Orihuela, Segorba, and Valencia.

LA MANCHA.—*La Mancha* is unadorned with sylvan scenery. It is one of the Spanish provinces where the fewest trees are found. Spaces of considerable extent are totally destitute. A few small woods of pines, and a sprinkling of olives occasionally occur, and the latter in rather larger numbers,

bers, about Ciudad Real, Malaga, and Almagro. The trees most frequently seen are a small species of the evergreen oak. Fruit-trees are not common, being generally restricted to orchards or private gardens, or the vicinity of large villages; as, for instance, there is a very fine orchard at Temblec. Trees are so rare, that the sight of a large or small group excites surprise in the traveller as he approaches some cities or towns; for example, Corral de Almaguer, Madrilejos, Portolongon, and Ciudad Real.

NEW CASTILE.—*New Castile* is not much ornamented with trees, immense tracts of this province are perfectly denudated. In some places, however, they are cultivated and thrive exceedingly well. The valley of Aranjuez abounds; those of Requena and Talavara de la Reyna are well supplied; and the banks of the rivers are garnished in numerous instances. Near Torrija are woods of evergreen, and of kermes-bearing oaks, *quercus ilex, et coccifera,* near Florez, and a wood of a dwarf species of oak and pines in the vicinity of Villagorda and Cebolla; poplar woods at Talavara de la Reyna; and near several of the rivers, woods consisting of poplars, elms, and willows. The mountains in this province are covered with pines and oaks of different species; those of Cuenca are thickest planted. The number of fruit-trees is small, and little attention is paid to their cultivation. They abound most in a few districts of Alcarria. Olives are more plentiful; numbers grow between Hita and Florez; between Cebolla and the bridge of Albercha; in the plains of Requena, and Talavera de la Reyna; in the districts of Torrelaguno, Alamo, Camerena, Maqueda, Erustes, Novez, Bravo, and Santa Ollala; where they form a large forest, which contains upwards of one hundred thousand trees. There are very considerable plantations in the vale of Valdemora; also between Cebolla and the river Guaderrama, on the road to Toledo.

OLD CASTILE.—*Old Castile,* as to plantations, is the most neglected province in Spain. Vast tracts are without a single tree, and scarcely are any seen near the villages, or even on the banks

banks of the rivers. The extensive plains near Hinojoso, Almeriz, Labajoz, Paredez, beyond the river Almarza, the large plain of Valladolid and of Dueñas; the extensive hills between Almariz and Almazon; and many other parts which it would be tedious to enumerate, are absolutely bare. So general is this nudity, that when a few trees do appear they excite a pleasurable surprise. These partial exceptions occur in several districts; a rivulet is lined with willows and poplars for about a league, two miles and three quarters, in extent, in a valley descending from the village of Real Monasterio; elms, poplars, and alders, decorate the sides of the small river Almarza, at the extremity of the plain in which is situated the town of Labajos; the district of Burela, in which Bribiesca lies, abounds with elms, hazel-nut, and other fruit-trees, frequently planted together in orchards; the environs of Tudela adjacent to Cuellar contain also numerous fruit-trees; a certain portion of land in the vicinity of Hinojoso is planted with evergreen oaks.

The scarcity of wood is so great in this province, that in greater part of it the fuel used for cooking, and even the oven, consists of small brush-wood, weeds, and also straw mixed with dung, and pressed well together; the fire-places are a kind of stoves called *glorias*, which are usually placed in the centre of the kitchen, round which the family range themselves on benches, for the purpose of warmth. Mulberry trees form an important part of plantations in Spain: they grow more or less in every district. The greatest number are in the kingdom of Valencia and Murcia, where they flourish in every part; the kingdoms of Granada and Seville, together with the east and south parts of New Castile, contain great quantities; Catalonia has the least number, and in Aragon there are but few; though planting has been attended to for the last few years. The mulberries of Valencia and Murcia are white; those of Granada are black. In the kingdom of Valencia the leaves are stripped off three times in the year, and every two years the trees are pruned.

In

In one part of Spain, more particularly in the two Castiles, Estramadura, and Andalusia, the acorns of the evergreen oak are eaten, and considered a delicacy; they are denominated *bellotas*. The ladies are particularly fond of this fruit, which in other parts of the country serves for food to the vilest animals. They either eat them raw, or roasted upon the coals like chesnuts. They are offered as a present to strangers, who at first sight are apt to be offended at a gift which they consider as an insult, or a mark of contempt. I myself with difficulty overcame the repugnance I first felt at a dish which did not appear very delicate; I, however, ventured out of politeness to taste them, and found them very agreeable, and have consequently eaten them often since; the taste is very similar to that of walnuts, and when roasted more delicate.

Irrigation.

The provinces long in possession of the Moors are those in which the inhabitants are best acquainted with the methods of deriving advantages from the rivers and streams they contain, by conveying the water to the interior, for the purposes of watering and fertilizing their lands. Even the industry of that people is here perpetuated to the present time. They were well skilled in the conveyance of water and the irrigation of lands. They drained rivers, and collected and preserved the waters of them in reservoirs; whence they conveyed them by means of numerous canals to such lands as stood in need of aqueous assistance. Multifarious monuments both of their skill and industry still remain in the kingdom of Grenada, in Murcia, and Valencia.

The

The practice of irrigation is carried to a great extent in the kingdom of Valencia, and in Catalonia; it is successfully practised, though with less skill, in the kingdom of Murcia. It was almost entirely neglected in Aragon; but since the construction of a new canal in the province, more attention has been paid to this profitable system. It is almost wholly unknown in New Castile, although that province is watered by a multiplicity of rivers; and it scarcely deserves to be mentioned in the provinces of Estramadura and la Mancha. The valleys and plains in the kingdom of Granada are watered by rivulets, descending from the mountains in their passage to the rivers, and by those of numerous fountains which are scattered through the country. The council of Malaga has recently formed a plan for the irrigation of sixty thousand fanegas* of land. The district of *Alcala de Gaudayra* in the kingdom of Seville is divided by canals, which convey through it the waters of the river *Guadayra*. The valleys of *Alava* are watered and fertilized by a number of fountains and small streams. The science of irrigation is so perfect in the greater portion of these provinces, that a court exists in each whose department is solely to adjust the differences

* The fanega, or fanegada, of Spain contains 48215 square feet, and the English acre 43560; then take the following equation, 60,000 fanegadas = x, 1 fanegada = 48215 square feet, 1 acre = 43560 square feet, result 66,131 acres three quarters and a fraction.

that may arise respecting the practice. Each court is composed entirely of agriculturists, and holds its sittings in some public place, as was the usage in the early period of civilization.

The districts of the Asturias are very mountainous, which renders it very difficult to convey the water of the numerous streams running through this province, so as to form water meadows.

The kingdom of Leon is watered by seventeen rivers, which are capable of supplying a vast body of water for the purposes of irrigation; but they are allowed to run unheeded through extensive plains, without the inhabitants ever dreaming of deriving advantage from this grand source of fertilization.

Old Castile, which is watered by twenty-one rivers, is, notwithstanding, the province where the benefits derivable from irrigation are the least known, and the practice the most limited. A plan, however, was undertaken, and partially executed, of cutting a canal upon a grand scale, and which, had it been completed, would have been of incalculable utility. But the scheme was not supported, and the work was consequently abandoned.

Taking a general view, if Catalonia, the kingdom of Valencia, Murcia, and some parts of Andalusia, be excepted, the fertilizing system of irrigation is either neglected, not properly understood, or very badly acted upon through Spain.

The

The lands which lie adjacent to rivers or streams are generally watered; because in such cases it requires neither much science nor much labour to dispose of the water; but the art of carrying waters above the level of the lands, conveying them by canals and distributing them in ramified channels properly over the surface, according to the quality of the land, and the nature of the crop, is either entirely unknown, or systematically neglected.

Productions of Spain.

GRAIN. Spain produces a considerable quantity of *wheat*. It is grown in all the provinces of this monarchy in a greater or less proportion. Catalonia, though it grows a large quantity, yet does not produce sufficient to supply its inhabitants *: the same may be said of the kingdom of Valencia †. Galicia, the Asturias, Navarre, Biscay, and Guipuzcoa, produce but little, far too little for the use of their population; while Alava grows more than is necessary for its consumption, and supplies the deficiencies of those districts. Aragon grows also a larger quantity than it consumes ‡, and with the surplus satisfies the demands of the neighbouring provinces §. Estramadura produces very little, yet generally sufficient for the usual demands, because its population is small. The kingdom of Murcia

* About 600,000 loads annually, or 1,800,000 quintals, i. e. nearly 900,000 bushels English measure.

† 500,000 of loads annually, or 1,500,000 quintals, i. e. nearly 750,000 bushels.

‡ Annually about 85,500 cahizes, or 2,057,460 quintals, i. e. 1,028,730 bushels.

§ Annually about 85,500 cahizes, or 214,710 quintals, i. e. 107,355 bushels.

grows much more than is sufficient for its inhabitants when there is a good harvest *, and exports a large quantity †; but in case of a bad harvest, nothing adequate to its own demands. Andalusia produces so much more than is necessary for its wants, that it receives the appellation of the *granary* of Spain. Carriage in the maritime provinces is tolerably easy; but exceedingly difficult and expensive in the provinces of the interior. The kingdom of Leon and the two Castiles are equally very productive, particularly Old Castile, which grows a large quantity of corn annually, more than is requisite for its own consumption, and nearly a sufficient surplus to answer the demands of the less productive provinces. But then the tediousness and expence of carriage too frequently obstructs the double advantages which might be derived from this fecundity to the farmers of this and the inhabitants of the distant provinces; so that it often happens, that some parts of the kingdom feel the pressure of actual scarcity, while a superabundance exists in others.

The corn of Spain is of a most excellent quality, plump, well-grown, fine flavoured, covered with a thin pellicle or skin, yields a very white flour, and a small quantity of bran. A great part of it in the process of grinding and dressing does not lose more than a fifth, while the corn of the north of Europe frequently loses a fifteenth. A very considerable difference also exists in the quality and quantity of bread produced by a given measure of one or the other, in the degree of estimation the kinds are held, and the price for which they sell: frequently the corn grown in Andalusia sells at Seville for nearly double the price of that imported from the north of Europe.

* Annually about 1,200,000 fanegas, or 1,350,000 quintals, i. e. 5,175,000 bushels.

† Annually about 400,000 fanegas, or 450,000 quintals, i. e. 225,000 bushels.

This is placing the bushel at rather below the standard weight, that being esteemed rather too high for foreign markets. T.

Many

Many provinces produce rye; the most is raised in Catalonia *, Estramadura, Navarre, and Biscay: it is generally sown upon the mountainous districts, in a few barren valleys, or the dry and sterile soils of the plains.

La Mancha, a great portion of the land in which is dry and barren, produces, according to its extent, the most of this species of grain.

Few *oats* are grown in Spain, not being in demand as food for cattle; yet some are raised in Catalonia, Galicia, in the kingdoms of Valencia and Granada.

Barley is cultivated to a great extent; not a province but produces more or less. The kingdom of Leon raises sufficient for its own consumption; Catalonia does not, but is obliged to import from Italy. Valencia grows rather more than adequate to its demands, Navarre very little; but the kingdom of Murcia † produces so much as to supply the demands of its neighbours ‡. Granada, Seville, Andalusia, and Old Castile, are the provinces most prolific in barley, and they satisfy the wants of many others.

Maiz, or Indian corn, was introduced as an object of cultivation into Spain towards the end of the last century, and has been regularly cultivated as a standing crop ever since its introduction, particularly in the provinces of Biscay, Murcia, and Seville; Navarre produces little; the kingdom of Granada and Galicia furnish a large quantity; Catalonia still more §; and Valencia most of all ||, being cultivated throughout every part of the province.

Rice was introduced as an object of culture by the Arabs;

* Catalonia annually produces about 120,000 loads, or 374,000 quintals, i. e. 187,000 bushels.

† Annually about 95,000 quintals, i. e. 475,000 bushels.

‡ It furnishes other provinces with about 20,000 quintals, i. e. 10,000 bushels annually.

§ Annually about 22,000 loads, or 86,020 quintals, i. e. 43,010 bushels.

|| About 8,000 loads, or 24,000 quintals annually; i. e. 12,000 bushels.

it is at present principally grown in Catalonia, and more especially in Valencia *: the latter produces vast quantities, and exports to a considerable extent †.

In Spain the crops are liable to be destroyed by drought, although the country abounds with rivers, rivulets, and streams; but nothing is so baneful as a hot and burning wind, which occasionally prevails both in the eastern and southern provinces, and even in the interior. Andalusia is the most exposed to these blasting winds, some of which coming from the east will instantaneously blight and scorch up the corn, particularly if they happen to blow when the corn is tender in the blade. The winds commit the greatest ravages in the kingdom of Granada.

The price of corn has greatly advanced in Spain, as well as most other parts of Europe. In the reign of Saint Ferdinand in the year 1280, during a time of scarcity, grain sold for twelve marevedis ‡ the fanega, and barley for four, which then was thought an extravagant price. In the year 1687 *Ozorio* calculated, that a pound and a half of bread sold for half a real de vellon, that is, two sols six deniers tournois, or one penny farthing; and consequently twenty deniers tournois, or three farthings one-sixth per pound §. At present bread usually sells for six or seven quartos; that is, from three sols and a half,

* Annually about 140,000 loads, or 306,350 quintals, i. e. 153,175 bushels.

† About 50,000 loads, or 150,000 quintals annually, i. e. 750,000 bushels.

‡ A maravedie is the $\frac{43}{272}$ fraction of an English penny, and when it is considered that the fanega in cubic inches is to the contents of the English bushel, as 3311 to 2178; it must appear probable, that one of the terms is an error of the press.—T.

§ A pound of beef or mutton weighing twelve ounces sold at that time for half a real de vellon, two sols six deniers tournois, or three halfpence. The same quantity of either now sells for ten, twelve, and fourteen quarts, six, seven, and eight sols tournois, or threepence, threepence halfpenny, and fourpence, the pound.

to

to four sols tournois, or three halfpence farthing, to two-pence English, the pound.

The government many years ago formed a very judicious establishment for preventing the disastrous effects of scarcity, by providing subsistence for the people, in case of ungenial seasons, or bad harvests. Magazines or storehouses, denominated *positos*, are erected in various parts of the kingdom. At present there are, in the whole, more than five thousand of these common depositories. When it is requisite to establish any of these granaries, every occupier of lands is obliged to bring and deposit a certain quantity of corn, proportionate to the extent of his farm. The following year he takes back the corn he had thus deposited, and replenishes the empty garner with a larger quantity, and thus he continues annually to increase the stock, by these increments called *creses*, till a certain measure of grain is deposited: then every one receives back again the whole corn which he has furnished, and replaces it by an equal quantity of new corn. Whenever a scarcity happens, these repositories are opened, and the corn dealt out to the people at a moderate price. In some places seed corn is also distributed to necessitous husbandmen, who are bound to restore as much in lieu of it the ensuing harvest.

Flax. In Spain the cultivation of *flax* is much neglected; yet different provinces, especially Aragon and the kingdom of Leon, produce flax of an excellent quality. It is also cultivated in some parts of New Castile; in Guipuzcoa; in the kingdom of Leon; in some parts of Old Castile, particularly between Cuellar and Segovia, and at Nuño Sancho; in Andalusia, principally in la Vega de Granada; in the territory of Jaen in the valleys environing that city; in Catalonia *, Aragon †, and the kingdom of Valencia ‡: yet the whole raised forms but an unimportant consideration in the scale of national produce. Re-

* It produces annually 8,000 quintals, i. e. about 7,692 cwt.

† The annual produce about 4,800 quintals, i. e. about 4,615 cwt.

‡ The annual produce about 8,000 quintals, i. e. 7,692 cwt.

cently, however, in some provinces more attention has been paid to the subject, and the cultivation has been successfully extended in the kingdom of Granada and in the Asturias; itis in a flourishing state in Biscay, and still more advanced in Galicia. Its quality will be stated under the next article.

HEMP. More attention is paid to the raising *hemp* than flax. The kingdom of Murcia produces but a small portion, yet of most excellent quality. Andalusia, and more particularly the kingdom of Granada, grows a much larger quantity; it is also cultivated in the district of Fernand Nuñez, in the kingdom of Cordova, in that of Jaen, and in the valleys adjacent to the city of that name. Much is grown in Catalonia *, Aragon †, and the kingdom of Valencia ‡. It is cultivated in a few districts of New Castile, principally in Alcarria and on the side of Hueta, in the road from Cuenca § to Madrid. Also in some parts of Old Castile hemp forms part of the produce; for instance, in the district of Nuño Sancho, and more generally between Cuellar and Segovia. The cultivation of this plant has lately commenced in the Asturias; it is in an advanced state in Galicia, and has a long time been profitably cultivated in Biscay. Both the hemp and flax grown in the middle provinces of Spain are of a shorter and finer fibre, consequently better adapted for general use than that of the northern parts; and also are capable of being better and more expeditiously bleached.

SUGAR-CANES. *Sugar-canes* flourish abundantly in the

* These and the following comparisons of weight are made upon the data that the quintal French, and hundred English are in the proportion of 100 to 104, but the quintal fractionally is something less. The proportion is 103,69 French pounds = 100 = 112 English pounds.—T. See Dubost's Elements of Commerce, Tab. V.

* About 18,000 quintals annually, i. e. about 23,076 cwt.

† About 75,000 quintals annually, i. e. about 72,113 cwt.

‡ Annually about 75,000 quintals, i. e. about 72,113 cwt.

§ This district annually grows about 1,500 quintals, i. e. about 1,451 cwt.

kingdom

kingdom of Valencia; and they were once extensively cultivated in the duchy of Gandie, but the introduction of American sugar caused their total decline. There are yet to be seen in that province whole fields which once were covered with them; but they do not furnish a sufficient object to induce the inhabitants to manufacture sugar: they are usually sold to the masters of coasting vessels, who buy them for the purpose of fermentation. The cultivation of sugar-canes is on a much more extensive scale on the side of Granada, where sufficient are grown to supply a considerable manufacture of sugar. Formerly a dozen sugar mills stood between Malaga and Gibraltar, the four principal of which were at Matril, near which place the best canes were produced. The cultivation of cotton has been substituted there in the place of sugar.

MADDER. *Madder* is cultivated in Catalonia, Aragon, in the Asturias, Andalusia, particularly at Cuellar, Bujados, and at Portillo in Old Castile. In the districts around the last three villages are reckoned two hundred mills* erected for the purpose of grinding the root.

SODA. The plants termed *barilla* †, *soude* ‡, *agua-azul* §, and *salicor* ||, flourish in Spain, and the first three are cultivated, but the last sufficiently increases without culture. Plantations of these are found in Aragon, La Mancha, the kingdom of Murcia, and that of Valencia. Formerly great quantities grew in Aragon; but it produces little at present. The kingdoms of Murcia ¶ and Valencia ** furnish the most.

SAFFRON.

* These annually produce about 7,500 quintals, i. e. 7,211 cwt. of fine madder.

† *Salsola soda* of Linnæus.

‡ Five species, *salsola kali*, *chenopodium maritimum*, *chenopodium album*, *salsola vermicularis*, *salsola rosacea*.

§ *Mesembryanthemum*.

|| *Salicornea Europæa*.

¶ Annually about 200,000 quintals, i. e. 192,307 cwt.

** There is annually collected in Valencia nearly 100,000 quintals, i. e. 96,153

SAFFRON. *Saffron* is cultivated in several provinces of Spain, but principally in La Mancha, Aragon, the kingdom of Murcia, and New Castile. Little is produced in La Mancha; Aragon and New Castile formerly grew much more than at present: indeed this kind of culture has long been on the decline, and the most is now produced in Murcia *.

BROOM. *Broom* grows wild in Spain, but it is cultivated in Aragon, Andalusia, La Mancha, the kingdoms of Valencia and Murcia: and most extensively in the latter province.

HONEY. All the Spanish provinces afford more or less *honey*; yet the whole quantity produced is too small to make it an important object of speculation. The district of Alcarria and the mountains of Cuenca †, in New Castile, afford the most; but that which is collected on the mountains to the north of Alicant, between that city and Ibi, in the kingdom of Valencia, is most esteemed for the delicacy of its flavour. Quantities are sent as presents into distant countries.

PALMS.—DATES. *Palm* trees grow in all the eastern and southern provinces of Spain, and in a few parts of the interior; but they are most abundant in the district of Elche and kingdom of Valencia, where they form large forests. These produce palms, which form an extensive branch of commerce, being sent to the other parts of the kingdom, and also exported into foreign countries. *Dates* also are produced in considerable quantities ‡.

CORK. *Robles*, or *cork trees*, are abundant upon the mountainous districts of several provinces; in Aragon, Catalonia, and the kingdoms of Seville and Granada: vast numbers

96,153 cwt. of barilla; 25,000, i. e. 24,038 cwt. of soda; 4000, i. e. 3846 cwt. of agua-azul; and the quantity of salicorn is much greater.

* The annual quantity is about 150 quintals, i. e. 144 cwt.

† The mountains of Cuenca afford about 4000 arrobas 1000 quintals, i. e. 961½ cwt. of honey; and 166 arrobas, 41½ quintals, i. e. 39¾ cwt. of wax.

‡ Which annually sell for about 400,000 reals, 100,000 livres tournois, i. e. 4166*l.* 4*s.* sterling.

grow

grow upon the Sierra Vermeja in the latter; and in the environs of Real Monasterio, and of Cullero in the former kingdom, they constitute extensive forests; and are still more abundant upon the mountains of Catalonia. The bark of the trees furnishes the useful article *cork*, which is sold in planks or in the manufactured state of corks *.

KERMES—GALL INSECTS. These insects are collected from trees, known under the name of evergreen oaks, the *quercus ilex*, and *quercus coccifera* of Linnæus, and afford the fine crimson dye so highly esteemed by the ancients. Whole rests of these trees grow near Florez, in New Castile; near Bujalance, and Fernan Nuñez, in the kingdom of Cordova; abundance on the mountains in which the mineral waters of Buzot flow, and where is situated the village of Lasaguas, and also four leagues, eleven miles, from Alicant, in the kingdom of Valencia. From all these places *kermes* are collected †.

FRUIT.—Every province produces more or less *fruit*; but in many parts little attention is paid to the culture of fruit-trees, and in others it is entirely neglected. In the kingdom of Murcia is very little fruit, although the greater portion of the soil is favourable to its growth. Still less is found in Estramadura; and notwithstanding the fertility of the soil, there are scarcely any fruit trees, except in a few districts, as between the Puebla of Calzada, Montijo, and la Vega de Plasencia. The same deficiency of fructiferous trees is observable in la Mancha; but in this province it is owing to the want of water and the sterility of the soil, circumstances unfavourable to their successful cultivation. Equally little is produced in either of the Castiles, notwithstanding a few districts of both provinces have a variety of fruit trees; as, for instance, Al-

* Catalonia alone annually produces 33,000 quintals, i. e. 31,730¾ cwt.; of which 32,400, i. e. 31,153¾ cwt. are annually exported.

† The quantity of *kermes* collected in the districts of Alicant annually amounts to 200 quintals, i. e. 192¼ cwt.; of which 180, i. e. 175 cwt. are exported.

carria

carria and the plain of Requena in the former, and Burela and Riox in the latter. The north, western, and southern provinces are those in which almost every kind of fruit is principally grown. Catalonia produces a considerable quantity; several districts in Aragon have scarcely any but fruit-bearing trees; Biscay and Guipuzcoa abound with varieties; the four kingdoms of Andalusia are still more abundant; and the whole of the kingdom of Valencia is covered: the latter, in conjunction with Aragon, supplies Madrid and the greater part of New Castile. The fruit of Biscay, Guipuzcoa, and Catalonia is good; of Aragon and Andalusia excellent; and that of the kingdom of Valencia the most beautiful, but less succulent and less delicate in the flavour.

ALMONDS. *Almonds* grow in Catalonia, Aragon, Andalusia, and in the kingdom of Valencia. The produce of Aragon is small; Partido de Huesca is the district which produces most. The kingdom of Granada, especially the environs of Malaga, is the most productive part of Andalusia. Fruit is grown in various parts of the kingdom of Valencia; but the quantity is small *. Catalonia is very abundant, particularly in Campo de Tarragona and Segarra. The most delicious almonds of any part of Spain are those which are grown at Ibi, about six leagues, sixteen miles and a half, distant from Alicant, in Valencia. These are stripped of the husk or shell, and will keep for years, a quality they owe to a particular kind of culture, already described in the present work.

NUTS. *Nut trees* are very general through the whole of Spain; but are most successfully planted in Biscay and Catalonia; in the latter province the sale of nuts forms a very lucrative concern †.

FIGS. More or less *fig* trees grow in every province of

* The annual produce is about 4,500 quintals, i. e. 4,326¾ cwt. of which 4000, i. e. 3,846 cwt. are exported.

† The annual produce is about 35,000 sacks, each containing three bushels, of which 26,000 are exported.

Spain;

Spain; but they are very numerous in Biscay, Guipuzcoa, and Aragon; Catalonia abounds with them, and the kingdom of Valencia is covered. A prodigious quantity grows in Andalusia, especially in the kingdom of Granada, in the vicinity of Malaga; the environs of Jaen and Ronda are equally productive, and the figs of the latter districts are the most esteemed for the delicacy of the flavour. Quantities of this fruit are dried in Catalonia, Andalusia, and Valencia. Those dried in the former province are principally for home consumption; but the greater part of those preserved in Andalusia * and Valencia † are exported, and form a considerable branch of commerce.

CAROB-BEANS. *Carob* trees, *ceratonia siliqua* of Linnæus, grow, though not in large numbers, in every part of Andalusia and Murcia; more are found in Catalonia, particularly about Vendrell, Calasell, and the parts adjacent to Tortosa and Tarragona; but they are exceedingly abundant in the kingdom of Valencia. The fruit of these trees, the *carob-beans*, form an important object of speculation; because they constitute the principal food for horses and mules.

OLIVE TREES, OLIVES, OIL. *Oil* is one of the principal commodities of Spain. Olive trees thrive in almost every part of the country; in Catalonia, Aragon, New Castile, the kingdoms of Murcia and Valencia. The kingdoms of Granada and Seville are equally abundant; la Vega de Granada, the environs of Loxa, the vicinity of Malaga, and various other places in the former province, are covered; and of the latter, the districts of Herrera, Estepa, Ecija, Carlota, Puerto de Santa Maria, Alcala de Guadayra, Carmona, the environs of Arcos, and in many others, they are not less numerous. A very extensive territory, in which the city of Alameda is situ-

* There are annually dried in Valencia about 28,000 quintals, i. e. 26,923 cwt. of which 20,000, i. e. 19,230$\frac{3}{4}$ cwt. are usually exported.

† Andalusia exports annually by the port of Malaga 100,000 quintals, i. e. 96,153 cwt. of dried figs.

ated,

ated, contains immense forests of olive trees. Numbers, though not so abundant, are found in the kingdoms of Cordova and Jaen. The quantity is small in la Mancha, and fewer grow in Old Castile, Estramadura, and Navarre.

Spanish *olives* are generally excellent in their flavour; but there are gradations in this excellence. Those of Aragon are sweeter than those of Catalonia; and those of New Castile surpass both. The olives grown in the kingdom of Valencia are the most beautiful and large, and containing less oil are more agreeable to the palate. Those of Estepa, in the kingdom of Seville, are very small; but they afford a very fine and delicate oil: those again in the vicinity of Seville are as large as pigeon's eggs; but of very inferior quality to the preceding, and afford a smaller quantity of oil: yet they are preferable for eating after they have been well seasoned. These are held at present in high estimation, and appear to have retained their celebrity from the time of the Romans. Cicero congratulates one of his friends on his appointment to the government of so fruitful a province as Betica, the present Andalusia, and requested that he would send to Rome the olives of Seville. Those grown in the districts of Alcala and Guadayra, in the kingdom of Seville, are larger and finer than any in Europe, and the best adapted for pickling.

La Mancha, the kingdoms of Jaen and Cordova, produce very little oil; and Old Castile, Estramadura, and Navarre, afford still less. The kingdoms of Granada * and Seville are very productive; New Castile and Aragon afford an equal quantity; and the produce of Catalonia † and Murcia ‡ is nearly the same; but the most is produced in the kingdom of Valencia §.

* The district of Malaga alone contains five hundred oil presses constantly at work during the season.

† 18,000 loads, each containing 11 arrobas, or 286 pounds of 12 ounces, or 38,600 quintals, i. e. 37,115 cwt. annually.

‡ 140,000 quintals annually, i. e. 134,615 cwt.

§ 88,000 quintals, i. e. 84,615 cwt. annually.

The

The oil of Spain might be preserved very sweet, but it is generally sharp and often rancid from the bad method adopted in its extraction from the fruit. The olives are gathered when overripe, black, and shrivelled; and those gathered from the trees, with those which have previously fallen upon the ground by the force of winds or blight, both sound and putrid, are indiscriminately mixed together; they are then collected in heaps, and in this state are left a considerable time, from a prevailing opinion, that this process causes the fruit to yield a greater proportion of oil, not considering that the fermentation they undergo the while produces acidity; and when the oil is expressed, quantities of boiling water are thrown repeatedly over it, which tends to increase the evil. If the olives were collected before they were dead ripe, those which were spoiled carefully separated, the oil expressed as fast as the fruit was gathered, and boiling water poured over it in moderate quantities; the oil would then be excellent. Mr. Carrere, to whom I am indebted for much information contained in this work, made an experiment upon a small quantity of olives grown in New Castile, according to the method here recommended; and he obtained an oil of a sweet and agreeable taste, which, in point of quality, was not inferior to the best oil of Provence, and was actually sold at a high price under that *name* at Madrid. The truth of this remark is verified by the Spaniards themselves, who make very good oil whenever they take the necessary precautions; and in those districts where the greatest attention is paid, the oil is of the first quality.

VINES.—WINE.—DRIED RAISINS. Spain may justly be considered a land of vines. The eastern and southern provinces contain a vast number; but the northern and western not so many. In Estramadura, Galicia, the kingdom of Leon, Biscay, and Navarre, there are very few; the two Castiles have more, but the quantity is not large. At Rioxa, in Old Castile, they are most abundant. In New Castile they may be said to be scattered over the whole province, though growing in particular places. They flourish in different dis-

tricts

tricts of the kingdom of Murcia; but the most are in that of Albaceta. Numbers grow in the eastern part of Catalonia, and more in La Mancha, Aragon, and the kingdom of Valencia. They are equally numerous in Andalusia, especially in the kingdoms of Seville and Granada, which are usually denominated *the wine-vaults of Spain.*

Vine espaliers are very numerous, especially in the kingdoms of Seville, Granada, and Valencia.

The most delicious grapes are produced in Valencia, the kingdom of Murcia, and in Andalusia, particularly in the kingdom of Granada; those raised about Malaga are most esteemed; those of Aragon are excellent; those of the two Castiles are very good, but inferior to the former; and those of Galicia, Navarre, and particularly Biscay, are of a very inferior quality indeed; yet, in the latter district, the muscadine grapes are good, and very similar to those of Frontignan. There is also a kind of a white grape, which grows in no other part of Spain, the fruit of which is small, with a very thin skin, and of an acido-saccharine taste.

The espaliers in the kingdoms of Seville, Granada, and Valencia bear excellent grapes, the size of which is often equal to that of nutmegs; they also grow in very large bunches, six, eight, ten, and even fourteen pounds weight. New Castile produces very little wine in proportion to its consumption, and is obliged to ge' supplied from La Mancha, Galicia, and Navarre. Biscay produces still less, and obtains two-thirds of its consumption from Rioxa, in Old Castile, the produce of which province is far greater. Much is made in La Mancha, which furnishes Madrid and several districts of New Castile. Andalusia produces a large quantity, particularly the kingdoms of Granada and Seville; the district of Xerez de la Frontera, in the latter, alone furnishes a large quantity for exportation *. Still more is made in the district of Malaga, and the parts adjacent to that city †. The produce of Ara-

* Annually about 50,000 quintals, i. e. 48,269 cwt.

† Annually about 700,000 quintals, i. e. 682,692 cwt.

gon,

gon *, Catalonia †, and the kingdom of Valencia ‡, is equally great in both, and the kingdom of Murcia does not yield a less quantity §, two-thirds is the produce of Albaceta, and most of which is sent to Madrid, under the name of La Mancha wine.

The wine of the eastern part of Catalonia is of a superior quality to that made in other parts of the same province.

The wines of Aragon are excellent: they possess a good body, and are very rich; but their flavour would be finer, if more care were taken in making them.

Those of La Mancha possess neither the body nor strength of the wines generally made in Spain, are thinner, and contain less vinous spirit, but form a pleasant beverage. The most esteemed are those of *Manzanarez* and *Valdepenas*.

The wines of New Castile are generally harsh and poor; in a few districts they are stronger and more agreeable.

Among those of Old Castile, the most distinguished is that produced in the district of Cabezon, near Valladolid; which is a very light wine.

The wines made in the kingdom of Murcia are luscious, heavy, feculent, and rough, all which bad qualities they owe principally, if not entirely, to the wrong method used in making them. The wine produced in the district of Albaceta is the lightest, and approaches very near to the wine of La Mancha.

The wines made in the kingdom of Valencia are of different qualities in the different districts. Those produced in the plains are below mediocrity; those on the hills, especially

* Produces annually about 162,000 metros of 448 pounds, containing 12 ounces each, or 537,840 quintals, i. e. 517,153¾ cwt.

† Produces annually about 60,000 loads, each containing 120 pints of Paris measure, or 180,000 quintals, i. e. 171,519 cwt.

‡ Produces annually 3,500,000 cantaros, each consisting of 28 pounds of 12 ounces, or 18½ pints, that is to say, 955,000 quintals, i. e. 918,269 cwt.

§ Annually about 320,000 quintals, i. e. 307,692 cwt.

such as have a southern aspect, are very superior in quality. Among these some are excellent, as the wine of *La Torre*, belonging to the Carthusian monastery of Portaceli; that of *Mas de Santo Domingo*; that of *Mas du Marquis de Perales*, in the district of Quarta. These have generally a good body, and afford an excellent brandy. Those made in the environs of Murviedro are more heavy and richer.

The wines produced in the kingdom of Granada are not equally rich, but have an agreeable scent and pleasant flavour.

The wine made in Biscay, by the different kinds of grapes which may happen to grow in the vineyard, being mixed together, is destitute of body, austere, and sour; which is entirely owing to improper management. This wine receives the appellation of *vin chacoli*.

What has already been observed relates to *red* wines, the ordinary wines of the country; but many districts of Spain produce excellent sweet wines. The kingdom of Valencia, the wine of Alicant, that of Granada, the wine of Malaga, that of Seville, the wine of Xeres, or sherry, and the wine of Rota. The very names of these constitute their eulogy; and among those made about Malaga, *Lagrima* and *Guindas* are the most in esteem. The kingdom of Murcia produces the wine of Carthagena, which deserves to be better known than it at present is, for its quality resembles the wine of Alicant. In the kingdom of Valencia is made the wine called *rancio*; and in New Castile, the muscadel wine of Fuencarral, in the vicinity of Madrid. In Aragon is made a little muscadel wine which is very good; and at Borja a white wine, esteemed for its sweetness; also at the Carthusian monastery of Auladei; and the excellent wine of Granada, at Sabayes, and Cariñena: this is the colour of a partridge's eye, of a sweet and agreeable flavour. Navarre produces the wine of Tudela and of Peralta, the former much like Burgundy, though not so delicious; and the latter a sweet wine, not unlike the wine of St. Lawrence, but stronger and more grateful. In the kingdom of Cordova is made the wine of Montillo, which is a very excellent, fine,

sweet

sweet wine, much esteemed by connoisseurs, though it is scarcely known out of the country.

Few precautions are used in the making wines in Aragon; the grapes are gathered before they are ripe, the peasants often sell them upon the trees, and the time of selling them is accelerated by a pressing necessity. The land selected for the vineyards is in many instances improper: the rich soils are often planted with vines in preference to the gravelly soils, so abundant in this province, and which afford the best flavoured and finest wine.

The same remark is equally applicable to Biscay, where the grapes are also gathered before they arrive at maturity; when ripe and green, sound and putrid fruit are mixed together, the wine undergoes little fermentation, and that process is badly conducted; the consequence of which is, the wine is of a disagreeable flavour, and will not keep. This inconvenience arises from an impolitic speculation of the police, which aims at causing all the wine made in the province to be consumed in it. The introduction of other wines in taverns is forbidden, even when the stock of the country is consumed, and the price is even fixed by the police. Hence the proprietors of vineyards, being sure of a sale, attend in the making, more to the quantity than the quality of the wine, their sole object being how they can make the most. Were proper attention paid in the making, the sourness would be prevented by the maturity of the fruit, a proper fermentation would give it strength, and in that case it would be brisk and sparkling, not unlike the wine of Champagne. Where more care is taken the wine is found sufficiently potent.

Dried grapes or *raisins* constitute a portion of the produce from the vineyards in Spain. They form in the kingdom of Valencia *, and more particularly in that of Granada †, a considerable

* About 40,000 quintals, i. e. 38461½ cwt. annually; of which quantity 38,000 quintals, i. e. about 36538 cwt. are usually exported.

† The environs of Malaga alone furnish annually 300,000 quintals,

siderable object of commerce. In these provinces two different methods of drying them is practised. In the latter they are simply dried in the sun, without any other preparation; in the former the grapes are steeped in boiling water, sharpened with a lye made of vine stems; they are then exposed to the open air, suspended in the sun till they are sufficiently dry. In the first practice all the juice is preserved; by the second much is lost by its escaping through the pores of the skin, for they are all open through the process of steeping. Some portion of it crystalises outside the fruit, by the action of the external air, and covers it with a saccharine crust. This crust becomes harder in colder countries where the fruit is exported, because the property of cold assists this crystalization. The former possess less sweetness, but their substance is more savoury; the latter have a more agreeable rind, but contain a less nourishing substance. Hence it happens, that the raisins of Malaga are of a superior quality, in greater estimation, and obtain a higher price than any others. The particular celebrity of these raisins may be partly owing to their intrinsic excellence, as they are naturally larger and of a more delicate flavour than those produced in other places.

Particular Modes of Cultivation.

MANURING LANDS. The lands in Spain are manured with dung from the stables and sheep-folds, and in many of the provinces by the dung of sheep, which during the fine season are folded upon the lands. In some districts of Guipuzcoa the lands are covered with a marly earth, which wonderfully fertilizes the fields on which it is employed. In the kingdom of Valencia, and in Catalonia, the lands are enriched by the sweepings of streets and houses, which are carefully collected. The kingdom of Valencia possesses an usage peculiar to itself:

i. e. 288461½ cwt.—of which quantity is exported 250,000 quintals, i. e. 240577 cwt.

there

there sand is used for ameliorating the soil; which is taken from cities and towns, the streets of which are not paved: where long subjected to the tread of animals, it has become impregnated with their excrements, and the washings flowing from the houses; thence it is carried and distributed over such lands as are meant to be manured. The upper layer of the high roads, which is supposed impregnated with excrementitious particles, is collected with equal care for the purpose.

Olive-trees. The general practice of planting *olive-trees* in Spain is by transplanting young shoots of a moderate size, and carefully watering them for some time after they are transplanted, which succeeds extremely well. A different practice obtains in the kingdom of Seville. A branch about the thickness of a man's arm is cut from an olive-tree, which is split in four beneath for the length of seven or eight inches, and in every cleft is placed a stone: thus prepared, the branch is planted about two feet deep in the earth, and a small trench made round it to retain the water. This latter method is not so good as the former; for the heat and water penetrate at the foot and destroy the inside of the tree, so that a great number of the olive-trees so planted are found internally decayed, and actually consist of bark instead of trunk.

Mulberry-trees. *Mulberry-trees* are pruned every two years in the kingdom of Murcia, every three years in that of Valencia; and in the latter the leaves are gathered three times annually. In the kingdom of Granada the mulberry-trees are suffered to grow and flourish without the assistance of art, for they are not even pruned. The mulberries of Murcia and Valencia are white; while those of Granada are black.

Hard oaks. These trees are pruned with peculiar caution in the territory of Biscay, for the purpose of making them throw out more branches to produce cordwood for charcoal; and cuttings are regularly made every eight or ten years.

Almond-trees. A very peculiar method is used for the culture of *almond-trees* in the district of Ibi, six leagues (six-

teen and a half miles,) from Alicant, in the kingdom of Valencia: the scions are grafted upon stocks of the wild almond, and the success which follows clearly evinces the propriety of the practice; for the almonds which the trees thus treated produce are superior to any in Spain.

SAFFRON. *Saffron* is thus cultivated in Spain. In the month of September the bulbs of Saffron, which are about the size and nearly the figure of walnuts, are planted; and towards the middle of October they begin to make white shoots or awl-shaped scapes, from each of which ascend three or four small blades, bearing a small blue flower closed at top, but which becomes patulous in the sun. This continues increasing about five days, and separates in the mean time from the scape of detached green filaments. The flowers are gathered in the morning, and the saffron collected before they have faded, which very quickly happens; they are then dried in the sun, or by means of artificial heat. In this process it diminishes greatly both in bulk and weight. The saffron dried in the sun loses about three-fourths.

BARILLA. *Barilla* is liable to a kind of accident, which instantaneously destroys it, even at the moment of harvest, by a beetle, a species of scarabeus, frequently depositing his larva in the roots of the plant. The foxes also, who are very fond of barilla, will during one night commit their ravages over an entire field; and the cultivators are unable to preserve their crops from the devastation of these animals, notwithstanding it is usual to keep an armed watch nights together for the purpose.

VINES. Poles for supporting *vines* are not used in Spain: here the cuttings are planted, which are not permitted to grow very high, and therefore gradually form thick and very stout stocks. Espaliers are also numerous, especially in the kingdoms of Seville, Granada, and Valencia. These produce grapes of an extraordinary size, the bunches frequently weighing twelve and fourteen pounds.

In many provinces a considerable indifference exists respecting

ing the kind of soil on which the vines are cultivated. They are promiscuously planted either upon rich level lands, which are more congenial to the production of corn; or upon gravelly soils on the hilly slopes, which are best suited for the culture of vines: the first affording a larger quantity, but the latter producing wine of a superior flavour. Aragon, where the lands are principally hilly, and consist of a gravelly soil, exhibits the least attention to judicious selection.

A particular mode of planting vines is adopted in the environs of Cebolla, in New Castile; the stocks are set in small round hillocks, about two feet or two feet and a half in height, and separated from each other the distance of three feet. This mode of planting is practised principally upon sandy soils.

In Biscay, six or seven kind of vines are mixed together, which send forth shoots three or four feet high, forming espaliers by the sides of the roads; and in many instances constitute arbours to the houses in the country.

In the districts around Malaga, in the kingdom of Granada, three crops of grapes are taken at three different stated times; one in the month of June, another the beginning of September, and the last in four or five days afterward. The grapes of the first gathering, called earlies, afford a wine of the consistence of honey; the second, called grapes of the second crop, produce a fine clear wine, stronger and better than the first; those of the third, called tardies, make the real wine of Malaga.

Corn lands. The husbandmen of Old Castile are blamed for ploughing their lands too superficially, not suffering the plough to go sufficiently deep, and being too inattentive to the covering the seed after it is sown. In answer to this the Castilians observe, that, guided by experience, they find less grain is obtained when a strong ploughing is adopted, and the share penetrates too deep; and their opinion is not incorrect: for, at the depth of two or three feet, water is found in great part of the plains of this province. It is therefore only necessary just to loosen the soil, and destroy the roots of plants

injurious to the corn, by the operations of the plough: and notwithstanding the dryness of the atmosphere, the crops seldom fail; for the proximity of the water in the substrata, tends to produce a coolness in the soil, and to fertilize the plants. It is probably owing to this cause that useful vegetables thrive exceedingly in Old Castile.

In Biscay a peculiar mode of cultivation is prevalent.

A tool is used called *laya*, which consists of two small bars of iron five or six inches long, separated about the distance of half a foot, thus forming two branches or pointed angles; to these a handle of wood is affixed perpendicular to one of the points, and is surmounted by a prop. Several workmen are joined together, at least two, but often three and four, each having a laya; and ranging themselves in file, they thrust the tools into the ground, and press upon the props that they may penetrate deeper, moving them backward and forward, till the clods are detached, which they cast behind them, and turn upside down: the same operation is continued throughout the field. Other workmen follow in the furrows thus made, and cut up the roots of injurious weeds. The clods are again broken with a pick-axe, and left through the winter to the action of the frost, by which they are partly pulverized. This labour is termed *layar*.

In the spring the clods are again broken smaller by means of harrows, and afterwards levelled with a cylinder, having teeth triangularly disposed; any clods which remain subsequent to this operation are reduced by wooden beetles; deep holes about two feet apart, and in a straight line, are then made with pick-axes, in which are cast seeds of Indian corn, French beans, peas, pumpions, &c. and the holes filled up with manure.

Immediately as the plants appear above ground, every attention is paid to the crop; the suckers, both of blossoms and ears, are cut away as quickly as they appear, and when dried are given to the oxen, constituting an excellent fodder. The maize is ripe about the end of September, or beginning of October. After the crop is cut, the land is sown with corn, without any further preparation than covering the seed with the

the plough. In the course of the winter it is weeded, that is, a hoeing is given it with a long straight hoe, for the purpose of breaking the hard crust, which covers the surface of the land. This operation is repeated in the months of May and June, to destroy the weeds. The harvest commences about the end of August, and the stubbles are depastured. The light lands are suffered to rest for one year; but two or three months after the corn is cut the better lands undergo the process of the *layer*, and are again manured and cropped.

On some light and choice soils nothing is sown but wheat, without wearying the land by other exhausting crops.

Rice. The following is the method of cultivating *rice* in the kingdom of Valencia. The land is prepared by tillage, but is left even without the appearance of furrows; and when covered with water to about a foot in depth, the rice is sowed, which germinates and remains in the water, till the time of harvest. For the purpose of cutting the crop the reapers are obliged to wade up to their knees in water. They are followed by others, who receive the sheaves; and the grain is detached from the ears by the treading of horses and mules. The rice still remains covered with an outer rind or skin, which is taken off by means of mills, similar to corn-mills, except that the millstones in these are furnished with a layer of cork.

Encouragements of Agriculture.

Agriculture was not only much neglected from the æra of the Moorish expulsion, but the government did nothing for its encouragement or protection. Philip the Second, in the year 1621, appointed the award of noble rank, and exemption from the obligation of bearing arms, to those who should devote their time and attention to the cultivation of the soil. But the law of that sovereign was never put in execution. Agriculturists obtained

tained no honourable distinctions, and upon them also principally fell the weight of military service. The princes of the Bourbon family subsequently awarded exemptions, and premiums, for the encouragement of agriculture; but agriculturists appear to have obtained no more of these than they did of those appointed by Philip the Second. The same monarchs established economical institutions, for the purpose of making enquiries, and trying experiments in the various branches of economy connected with agriculture, and endeavouring to excite the attention of the people to its further improvement. But they neglected to appropriate revenues and provide other proper means to attain the object, and answer the end proposed by such institutions. It was not till very lately that Charles the Fourth gave some small assistance to that of Saragossa.

Even the farmers were reduced to the necessity of sowing their lands by portions of seed-corn, obtained from some of the public granaries; but such assistance was not obtainable in every place.

Those economical societies could only find resources in their own zeal for procuring the means to give encouragement to the agriculture of the districts, in which they had been established; some particular bodies also formed other institutions, the design of which was precisely the same.

The society established at Valencia proposed, in the year 1802, premiums upon subjects connected with

with agriculture; but these premiums, which were numerous and very small, embraced such a multiplicity of important objects, that it is next to impossibility this institution should accomplish its wishes. Most of the subjects proposed require repeated experiments and reiterated observations to be made, which can only be done by great labour and assiduity. The sums offered are not adequate to defray half the expence, which must be incurred; while neither honour, distinction, nor privilege is awarded to successful authors, to the discoverers of useful inventions, nor to the suggestors of new and better methods of practice. It would doubtless tend more to the furtherance and advancement of culture if a more confined scale had been adopted as to the subjects proposed; and the divided sums, which are granted for this object of public utility, augmented, by a diminution of their number.

The society established at Saragossa has better answered the end of its institution. From the first formation it has unceasingly devoted its attention to the improvement and encouragement of agriculture. In that city it has established schools of rural economy. It has excited a spirit of planting, as well as called the public attention to the cultivation of particular fruits, in those lands most congenial to the growth of each; and annually a premium is granted to such as most distinguish themselves in this respect. The endeavours of the society have been crowned with very great success; for

for in the space of ten years, more than forty thousand trees have been planted in Aragon.

The same society is about to form a very advantageous establishment. It has obtained of the king a fund of four hundred thousand reals, one hundred thousand livres tournois, 4166l. 4s. 0d.

With this it has established a charitable bank in favour of distressed farmers. Money is advanced sufficient to defray the expences of harvest; beasts for labour are provided, in case they lose any by unforeseen accident; and two years are allowed for returning by instalments the sums thus advanced. The loans are renewed every six months in proper turn, through the different districts and villages of Aragon. The society purchases the beasts in the countries where they are reared, by which means it procures them at a much lower price. This establishment commenced its operations in the month of June, 1805, and it then distributed forty-four thousand reals, eleven thousand livres tournois, or 458l. 2s. 0d. to one hundred and ten husbandmen; and in the month of August following it had furnished sixty-two horses to an equal number of other indigent farmers.

The poverty of many who occupy vineyards in the district of Malaga is so great, that it prevents them from making their crop into wine themselves, or waiting a sufficient time when it might be made with success. The consequences are, in the first case they are constrained to sell the grapes at a low

low price by a sale of anticipation, through which they suffer considerable loss; and in the other, they are obliged to gather the grapes before they arrive at maturity, by which means the wines are of a bad quality, sell at an inferior price, and injure the reputation of other wines made in the same district. The council of Malaga have formed an useful institution for relieving indigent proprietors: they have established a charitable bank, which issues loans that enable the poor cultivators to wait till a favourable time arrives for making their sales to advantage.

None however of these agricultural establishments is better known, more distinguished, or more fully acquainted with the general state of agriculture in Spain and with the best means for its improvement, than the economical institution at Madrid. The report made in the year 1795 to the council of Castile by one of its members, *don Gaspa Melchor de Jovellanos*, is one of the best treatises ever published upon the various branches of economical polity. The country which possesses such men is not very distant from speedy melioration; and there needs no hesitation in prognosticating its speedy improvement.

Those who may peruse this work will certainly read that memoir with great pleasure, in translating which every endeavour has been used to perform it with fidelity. Some things will occasionally be perceived

perceived in it foreign perhaps to the immediate subject of the memoir; but they tend to furnish information respecting Spain in a variety of interesting relations and useful particulars.

MEMOIR

MEMOIR

ON THE ADVANCEMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND ON AGRARIAN LAWS.

Addressed to the supreme council of Castile by the patriotic society of Madrid, and drawn up by one of its members, don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos.

SIR,

The patriotic society at Madrid having carefully examined the memoir upon agrarian law, which your highness condescended to transmit, and paid all the attention in its power to the labour you have confided to it, has the honour of submitting to the superior judgment of your highness its opinion on the subject.

From its first foundation this society has been occupied in the study of agriculture, the principal object of its institution; but it had not considered that subject in the view of rendering lands more productive, nor, till your highness consulted it upon rural legislation, turned its attention to this particular object, as important as it was new. For this additional labour, extreme circumspection was necessary that nothing might be left to chance, in a pursuit where the most apparent trifling errors might produce evils of a magnitude equal to their duration. Hence has arisen the delay in committing to writing the ideas at present laid before you, under a firm persuasion, that in affairs of so great moment it is not the facility with which advice is afforded that constitutes a demonstration of zeal; but the evincing caution that none but just opinions are permitted to go abroad, and such as are the result of careful examination and mature reflection.

This memoir will be marked by simplicity and unity, two characteristics of well-founded opinions: its sole principle is taken from the primordial laws of nature and society; the fertile source whence flow all the consequences which relate to

the

the subject it embraces; and so certain, that it is demonstrated on the one side by the facts stated in the accounts of the magistrates, directed by your highness to investigate and suggest improvements upon agrarian laws; while on the other it destroys all the erroneous conclusions, which have been attempted to be drawn from them.

The numerous errors arising from reasoning, as well as from zeal for the public good, which abound in the writings referred to in this work, cannot fail to have given rise to wrong hypotheses, which have again produced results equally erroneous; or if just, which have been viewed in an improper light. The society might cite numerous examples of both these sources of error, were it not from feeling a reluctance to censure so many, who have adopted them; and were it not firmly persuaded at the same time, your highness must perceive, it has deliberately weighed the results contained in this memoir. The error which appears the most prominent to this society, because the fruitful source of many others, is the opinion generally received, that our agriculture is in a retrograde state. Your own zeal, sir, and the paternal attention you have shewn to advance its prosperity, have been alleged as a proof of this mistaken supposition; although it is a demonstrable fact *that Spanish agriculture has in no period made such a rapid progress as in the eighteenth century*, yet complaints are still general of its supposed decline, and upon this chimerical notion are professedly formed most of the systems intended for its amelioration. The society is anxious respecting this point more than all the rest, that agriculture may be carried to that degree of perfection of which it is capable, and which constitutes the object of your wishes; but it at the same time is decidedly of opinion that it is a palpable mistake to suppose it in a declining state, which if really so would at the same time prove, that our cultivation had fallen from a flourishing and prosperous state, into the opposite extreme, a languishing and retrograde one: whereas after having attentively perused the history of Spain, in the different epochs, and seriously

riously considered the state of agriculture in each; the society is convinced the monarchy never had so much land in a state of culture, nor so well cultivated as at the present period.

Progressive State of Agriculture.

The first period of Spanish agriculture must be referred to the government of the country under the Romans, who produced an extraordinary change by subjecting nearly the greater part of Europe to the same laws and regulations, for the purpose of accelerating their civilization.

But for the two centuries that Spain formed the seat of constant and sanguinary warfare, it was impossible that agriculture, for want of stability in the government, should be advanced to any considerable extent; nor was it the fact, till the reign of Augustus. Certainly at that æra, protected by the laws, improved by the knowledge which the Spaniards obtained from the Romans, and by adopting their manners as well as language, the art of cultivation made a rapid progress; and that unquestionably was one of its most brilliant periods. But the immensity of rural properties *, the establishment of too widely-extended farms, the employing slaves † in the labours of husbandry; the ignorance and negligence, the natural concomitants of slavery, and the contempt it brought upon

* "Modum agri (says Pliny, Lib. xviii. cap. 6), in primis servandum antiqui putavere: quippe ita censebant, satius esse minus serere, et melius arare: qua in sententia, et Virgilium vides. Verumque confitentibus, *Latifundia perdidere Italiam, jam vero et provincias.* Sed domini semissem Africæ possidebant, cum interfecit eos Nero princeps." These evils still existed at the close of the fourth century; for Ammianus Marcellinus observes, Lib. xxviii. cap. 11, 'Probus claritudine generis et potentia, et opum magnitudine cognitus *Orbi Romani, per quem universum pene patrimonia sparca possedit.*" See also Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, chap. 31.

† In Varro, Lib. 1, 17, in Columella, Lib 1, 7, and in Smith's Enquiry into the Wealth of Nations, may be clearly seen the reason why cultivation performed by slaves is so very unproductive.

those similarly occupied *; reduced it to that low state which was the necessary consequence of those errors, that have been unanimously acknowledged both by ancient as well as modern writers on the subject. Columella †, who lived soon after the reign of Augustus, bitterly complains of these evils; and in the time of the emperor Vespasian, the Elder Pliny observed, that the unreasonable extent of landed properties, after having ruined Italy, gradually devastated all the provinces, subject to Roman domination.

The state of agriculture in this country was always defective, because Spain, subjected like the other conquered provinces to imposts on natural productions, was so much more harassed by tax-gatherers, and exactions of every kind, on account of its greater fertility and population: and at one time the prætors ‡ considered it the granary to provision the capital of the Roman empire, and the nursery for the recruiting of the imperial army. Under the government of Vespasian's successors, the arbitrary imposts were daily multiplied; and with them also increased the landed taxation, and duties on provisional consumption: and this more especially after the reign of Constantine §. The society was unable to be persuaded, that

* "Nec post reor," says Columella in his preface, "intemperantiæ cœli nobis ista, sed nostro potius accidere vitio, qui rem rusticam pessime cuique servarum, velut cornifici, noxe dedimus, quam majorum nostrorum optimus quisque optime tractaverit."

† Columella de Re Rustica, lib. 1, cap. 3, says "more præpotentium, dice qui possident fines gentium, quos nec circumire equis quidem valent, sed proculcandos pecudibus et vastandos ac populandos feris derelinquunt."

‡ Our own historians cite numerous instances of the continual vexatious measures of the prætors, which they had recourse to with impunity. Read Ferreras and Moriana. Lib. ii. cap. 26.

§ In Gibbon's excellent work, entitled "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," Vol. III. chap. 27, may be seen to what an enormous height the assessments were raised in that country, and with what cruelty the recovery of the contributions were frequently exacted.

agriculture,

agriculture, so little favoured, could have been in a state equal to what the exaggerated descriptions of the fertility of Spain, given by the Roman writers, suggest; and which rather prove the low state to which it had been reduced, by the immense supplies sent to Rome and her armies, for the purpose of preserving a military tyranny, and supporting an idle and factious population. The state of agriculture could not be considered flourishing under the dynasty of the Visigoths; for not to mention the horrible ravages those tyrants exercised upon the subjugated natives, the destruction of ancient tenures and the seizure of two-thirds of all the lands, which those invaders appropriated to themselves, would be amply sufficient to ruin the most thriving agriculture. Those barbarians, equally indolent and sluggish in peace, as they were active and ferocious in war, committed the culture of the land to slaves, being themselves more attached to the rearing of cattle, the only wealth known in the country from whence they originally came. A very confined and miserable state of agriculture was the necessary consequence flowing from this two-fold source.

On the irruption of the Moors cultivation almost entirely ceased, and several centuries passed before it arrived at any thing like a state, which might at all deserve the name of agriculture. It is true, that the Moors of Andalusia, who had established the Nabathean mode of culture in a climate, where it might be advantageously practised, advanced agriculture in the eastern and southern provinces of Spain; but the despotic nature of the mussulman government, the enormous taxes, the civil wars by which the country was harassed; must have greatly contributed to impede its progress, without taking into the account the inroads and conquests which the Christians were constantly making for the recovery of the country.

When the latter had made themselves masters of a great portion of the kingdom, a number of obstacles were to be surmounted for the re-establishment of a profitable system of agriculture. It was not in a very flourishing state, except in the northern provinces, even at the time when the capture of

Toledo took place. In the plains of Castile and Leon, the inhabitants, incessantly exposed to the incursions of the Moors, were obliged to secure themselves in fortified places; and therefore preferred the rearing and grazing of cattle, which they could more easily convey, than the productions of tillage, from the ravages of the enemy. Subsequent to the capture of that city, agriculture received some improvement, and required additional solidity. Still the fresh troubles, which were constantly breaking out, took from the labours of husbandry nearly the whole of the strength essential to their performance. The history of that period represents the peasantry, even so late as the fourteenth century, following their military lords in those wars, which gave us possession of Jaen, Cordova, Murcia and Seville; and many fell in those shameful struggles, which were often excited by court favourites or the guardians of the young kings, during our regencies. What under such circumstances must have been the state of our agriculture, even at the close of the fifteenth century?

It must be acknowledged that the re-conquest of Granada, the uniting into one the different kingdoms of Spain, and the aggrandisement of the empire by the discovery of the new world, produced at that period an extension and improvement of agricultural pursuits. But instead of the government endeavouring to remove the obstacles, which still opposed its progress, it appeared constantly employed to perpetuate and increase them.

The continual warfare carried on in foreign countries gradually diminished the national wealth and population; and the evils were aggravated by the expulsion of persons on account of their religious tenets. The privileges granted to sheep-proprietors in preference to agriculturists, converted their arable fields into wastes; the numerous civil and ecclesiastical mort-main tenures, by which vast territories came into the hands of a description of people little interested in their amelioration; in a word, capital diverted from the culture of the soil by inalienability, or the loss of territorial property, was consequently turned into the channels of trade and commerce.

Thus

Thus was the advancement of agriculture impeded, which, had it been fostered by the legislature, would have increased the glory and prosperity of the nation.

So many concurring causes had tended to plunge agriculture into that state of profound lethargy in which it appeared at the commencement of the eighteenth century; since which period it has met with fewer obstacles, and more encouragements. The contests respecting succession, so fatal in other countries, in ours, not only tend to retain at home both wealth and population, but also draws to us a number of foreigners, who infuse, by their industry, fresh vigour into the country. About the middle of that century peace had afforded the repose to agriculture it had never experienced before; and at that period it made a more rapid progress, and arrived at a degree of prosperity previously unknown. Population and industry increased together; new sources of public wealth fertilised the national soil; and not only the legislature became more attentive, but the laws were better defined; establishments of rural economy were formed in the Sierra Morena, Valencia, Estramadura, and several other places; the breaking up of waste lands was particularly encouraged; the extensive privileges of the sheep-proprietors were curtailed; the tax on grain was abolished; the corn trade was protected; and the absurd ferment, and those salutary complaints arose, which some consider as a proof of the declining state of our agriculture; while in the view of clear-sighted men they are the surest presage of its improvement and prosperity.

The Influence of Legislation upon Agriculture at the present Period.

Such is the brief history of our national agriculture, and such is the account of its progress through successive periods. The society would have been unable to have made this investigation had it not been in possession of many interesting observations, upon which it will rely in the course of this report.

All combine to demonstrate that the state of cultivation has always been proportionate to the political circumstances of the nation. The influence of these had been so very great, that neither the excellence of the climate, the fertility of the soil, the diversity and richness of its productions, the natural situation of Spain for an immense maritime trade, nor, in a word, so many gifts which nature has bestowed with no sparing hand upon this country, were able to surmount the obstacles which its political state opposed to the progress of agriculture.

The society has also seen, when political circumstances were not unfavourable, the obstacles which most effectually impeded the advancement of agriculture were those which arose from local laws or rural regulations; and that it prospered in a greater or less degree, according as agrarian laws protected or discouraged agriculturists.

This remark, which enabled the society to discover the principle that forms the basis of the present report, inspired it at the same time with confidence, that it should be able to accomplish the object of its views. In reality it saw on one side that our political situation invited and produced a flourishing state of cultivation; and on the other, that its fate depended entirely on the legislature: and its hopes were revived, and its prospects brightened, by finding you, sir, devoting your time and attention to amend this most important department of legislation. Those zealous magistrates who have proposed their plans for the reformation of the agrarian code, have by their labours acknowledged the influence which laws have upon agriculture, although they may have erred in the application of this principle. Every person wishes new laws for the amelioration of agriculture, without reflecting that the languid state in which it is found in some instances arises from the laws themselves, and consequently the number ought rather to be diminished than increased; and the old ones abolished instead of new ones enacted.

Laws ought to be confined to the Protection of Agriculture.

A little reflection upon this subject will be sufficient to produce conviction, that cultivation naturally tends towards improvement, that the laws ought to be restricted to increase this tendency, that the legislature should principally occupy itself in removing obstacles, rather than offering encouragements; and that the only aim of laws enacted relative to agriculture should be the protection of those employed in the concern, and the removal of the causes which may paralyze their vigour, or enfeeble their efforts.

This principle, which the society has undertaken to elucidate in this report, first appears in the immutable laws of nature, and particularly in the primæval law imposed by providence upon man, when he first received the domination of earth; the obligation to live by the produce of his labour. The same power which bestowed upon him the sceptre of earth, laid upon him the duty of its cultivation, and inspired him with that activity and desire for the necessaries of life, by which he instantly discovered labour to be the only guarantee of his subsistence. To this sacred self-love the human race is indebted for its perpetuity, and the globe for its culture; it is this which drains savannahs, clears forests, drains lakes, controuls rivers, ameliorates climates, tames and domesticates the most ferocious beasts, selects and improves the nourishing seeds and plants, and insures, by the propagation and culture of these, an astonishing augmentation of the human race.

This principle is again acknowledged in the laws of social order. When the increase of mankind became so great that they were under the necessity of uniting in society and dividing the domain of the earth, it legitimated and improved this division, by assigning a certain portion to each, and obliging him to concentrate in that portion the whole of his activity. Hence individual interest became proportionably more active, as it had to exercise itself upon objects more within its reach,

more known, more level with its capacity, and which assimilated more with the happiness of individuals.

By this same personal interest, men propagated the natural productions, and learned to select the best for cultivation, and thus the number was incessantly increasing. Hence they learned to distinguish a property different from that of the soil, the property arising from labour. Although the earth was endued with a wonderful fecundity by the creator, yet it extended its bounties principally to the careful cultivators of it; and while it recompensed the labours of the diligent by plenty of delicious fruits, it yielded little to the slothful save briars and thorns: the best crops were constantly the result of the most strenuous labour and patient industry; men, therefore, applied more closely to procure a greater abundance of fruit, and sought out auxiliary strength, which they remunerated by granting a portion of the multiplied productions. In that case the produce ceased to belong exclusively to the proprietor of the soil, but was partially divided between him and his assistants.

This property created by labour, being more precarious in its object, became more attentive and ingenious in its exercise. Watching first the wants of men, it followed their caprices; it invented in the arts the means of providing for the one, and of satisfying the other: every day it furnished new objects conducive to their use, or to gratify their wishes; it perpetuated those, and having created new wants, learned to supply them. It is by these numerous associated means that the property arising from labour becomes more varied, extended, and independent.

This Protection should confine itself to the Removal of such Obstacles as impede the Prosperity of those employed in Agricultural Pursuits.

These reflections, suggested by a studious attention to the nature of man, and the progress of society, evidently shew that it is not the province of legislation to excite or direct either

either of these kinds of property, and that its proper function is to protect the agents of agriculture, who naturally active and alert, never lose sight of their object. It also appears, that this protection should solely and simply consist in removing the obstacles which impede their action, and the development of their interests: for activity is inseparable from the nature of man, and its direction is governed by his wishes and his wants. In a word, it is evident that, without the interference of human laws, the art of cultivating the earth may arrive at a high degree of perfection, as the case has been among various nations and districts; more especially where the landed property, and that arising from labour, are protected by the laws; and the perfection so desirable, and the numerous advantages arising from it, will infallibly be obtained.

But two specious motives have induced legislators to depart from the road pointed out to them by nature; in the first instance they mistrust the science and activity of individuals; and in the second, they dread the mistakes and errors of that very science and activity.

Observing that men act so often contrary to their real interests, misled by seducing passions or the lure of apparent good, many are persuaded that laws are more certain guides for persons than their own particular views of advantage; and, consequently, suppose no wiser rules can be prescribed for their direction, than those laid down by such as are exempt from the laws of personal interest, and who are influenced by no motives but those of promoting the general good; who do not confine themselves merely to protect the property arising from land and labour, but endeavour to increase both, and to point out a way to proprietary speculations for this purpose, by laws and regulations, the design of which is not the production of individual profit, but public benefit. Thus it is that laws begin to operate contrary to personal interest, and this interest becomes so much more active, more ingenious, and fruitful in expedients, as it is less free in the choice of its plans for the attainment of the desired objects, and the adoption of means for their execution.

In

In thus acting, legislators are not aware that the majority of mankind, occupied with objects which arrest their interest, generally consult the judgment rather than the passions, where the end of their views is the same, as that proposed by the laws: for where they are deficient in this respect, the result is their own loss, and in that case they are quickly restored to a proper way of thinking, under the inevitable chastisement arising from the injurious consequences of their erroneous conduct; a chastisement by far more prompt and efficacious than any which laws can possibly inflict. Legislators do not perceive that this constant contention of different interests establishes a natural equilibrium among men, which never can be effected by human laws. It is not alone the moral and good man who respects the interest of his neighbour, but also the ill-disposed and the knave: not that the latter is induced by a principle of justice, but he does it from reasons of self-interest and private utility. The fear of having his own rights invaded leads him to respect the rights of others; and it is a just observation, that in society the individual interest of every one is better guaranteed by opinion than by law.

In saying this, the society by no means intends to infer that the legislature should lay no restraint on violence produced by the clashing of individual interests; on the contrary, it considers that to be the most salutary and sacred function of all laws, and the most important object of all wise and good legislators. It only means to assert, that law, in protecting the free action of personal interest, while the latter does not exceed the limits pointed out by justice, ought not to restrain its free exercise; nor while it does not attempt to pass the bounds of this inclosure. In a word, sir, the fundamental principle of the society is, that *the protection afforded by the laws to agriculture should confine itself simply to the removal of such obstacles as prevent the free action of those employed in the concern, while they act according to the limits prescribed to them by the principles of justice.*

The

The Agreement between the Aim of individual Interest and that of the Laws.

The general principle of every object in economic legislation becomes very manifest when it is applied to agrarian law. In fact, what other design can it have if it be not that of advancing to a higher degree the public wealth and prosperity by an improved cultivation of the soil? and this is equally the aim of nearly the whole mass of agriculturists: for every one wishes to advance his own individual fortune to the highest pitch that in can be raised by culture It is, therefore evident his aim is the same with the object of agrarian laws, and the intention of both must be accomplished by the same means.

Agrarian laws can only propose to embrace three objects, the extension, improvement, and most profitable mode of cultivation; and agriculturists are naturally led by their own individual interest to similar pursuits: for who among their number would not cultivate as much of his land as he might be enabled to do to the extent of his capital strength, and the circumstances in which he is placed? Who would voluntarily forego the good within his power? Who would not prefer the more advantageous to the less profitable mode of culture? Hence it follows that agrarian laws to accomplish the object they propose, should guarantee the free agency of agriculturists, who cannot but have a similar object in view.

The society, sir, would not have entered into details to establish a principle, or to confirm by evidence facts so striking, had it not been of an opinion so diametrically opposite to that upon which agrarian laws are generally founded, and of the greater part of authors who have written upon the subject. As many of the ideas advanced may appear novel, it was desirable to place them on a solid foundation, and state the immoveable principle from whence they flowed; and the society trusts, that, from the consideration of the great importance

ance of the subject on which it has undertaken to treat, you will excuse the length of detail in its elucidation.

An Inquiry into the Obstacles which impede the free Course of Action among landed Proprietors.

Since it appears that to promote the cause of agriculture the laws ought to be confined to the protection of the individual interest of those concerned, and that the only proper method of affording the requisite protection is by removing the obstacles which oppose their efforts and the natural tendency of their exertions; nothing is so important and essential as an investigation into the nature of such obstacles, and the means by which they may most easily and speedily be removed.

The society considers these as consisting of three kinds, political, moral, and physical; and that therefore they must either exist in the laws, in general opinion, or in nature. Taking up the subject in this point of view, the society will first inquire what are the obstacles which the existing laws oppose to the progress of agriculture; secondly, those produced by general opinion; and, thirdly, those resulting from the nature of the soil. The society, while elucidating these different sources of obstacles, will at the same time point out the most certain and simple means of their removal.

CLASS THE FIRST.

Political Obstacles to the Progress of Agriculture arising from Legislation.

The society, in the investigation it has made of the legislation in Spain, respecting agriculture, could not avoid being shocked at the multiplicity of statutes which fill the code of jurisprudence upon so simple and plain a subject. Shall it presume to inform you, sir, that the greater part of them have been, and still continue to be, fatally prejudicial, or at least unserviceable, to the cause of agriculture? But why should it conceal

conceal a truth which you acknowledge yourself, by your attention to the subject, and your endeavours to effect a radical reform of this disgraceful part of our code, in which you have evinced both wisdom and zeal?

The legislature of Castile is not the only one to which may be attributed this glaring error. The rural codes of every nation in Europe are infested with laws, ordinances, and regulations, intended for the improvement of agriculture; but which are in effect highly prejudicial. Ours possess at least one excuse, that they were suggested by necessity, met the wishes of the community, and were adapted to the existing state of things. It is also true, that the legislators were then unacquainted that the evils forming the subject of present complaint had originated in previous laws; these they should have abrogated, instead of enacting new statutes, which could only tend rather to increase than diminish the existing evils. But what country, what system of polity, has ever existed that has not committed similar errors, the source of which is the more excusable, as proceeding from a veneration for the wisdom of antiquity.

Political economy, a science just sprung up, had not anterior to our time attended to the compilation of agrarian laws; they were solely the work of jurisprudence; and unhappily our jurisprudence, like that of most states in Europe, was in many instances nothing more than a collection of maxims taken from the Roman code, and adapted to our national use. Unfortunately the most important part of law, public right, has ever been the least studied in Europe; not being quite analogous to the principles of modern government, the study was consequently neglected.

This, sir, is the real source of so many political errors observable and continued in agragrian laws. The society, unable to enter into a detail of all, confines itself to a few of the most important; and to avoid being diffuse without utility, it will particularly descant upon the principle already briefly illustrated.

Waste

Waste Lands.

Individual interest forming the only certain base upon which to lay a solid foundation for the promotion of agricultural improvements, the laws most opposite in their tendency to the principles on which civil society is formed, are such as, instead of strengthening this principle of private interest, enfeeble it by diminishing the number of individual properties, and consequently small proprietors. Of this kind are some which, by a kind of political torpor, have suffered a large portion of rich territory in Spain to remain without an owner or cultivator; and by alienating the labour of private persons, have deprived the state of all that immense produce which individual interest would otherwise have been able to extract from it: such are *waste lands*.

The society bestows the appellation of political torpor upon this negligence, from not having been able to find one more appropriate to a prejudice which has so long permitted these lands to exist in such an unproductive state. Their origin may be traced to the time of the Visigoths, who, having seized two-thirds of the country, left only a third to be occupied by the vanquished. At the same time they were obliged to leave, without owners, all that was unessential for the supplying the wants of the residuary confined population, as the greater part of the inhabitants had been swept off by a sanguinary war. These were termed *vacant fields*, and at present constitute our waste lands.

War first had diminished population, and then, in its consequences, retarded the natural progress, which was opposed by the aversion the conquerors possessed for agricultural pursuits, and for every kind of productive industry. These barbarians, who had only to conquer, and then repose amidst the spoils, were ill calculated to undergo the anxiety and toil which husbandry requires; they therefore preferred cattle to corn, and pasturage to culture. It is proper, therefore, to view the vacant

sant lands as reserved for common pastures, and the feeding of their flocks; and our *fuero juzgo* contains numerous examples in this kind of rural polity.

This remissness in the national legislation is apparent through the reigns of the Asturian kings, from the time of Alphonso the Chaste; was adopted by those of Leon so early as the reign of Alphonso the Fifth; imitated also in Castile, and continued till the time of St. Ferdinand, who established throughout the kingdom the same rural polity which the Spaniards of the middle ages respected, in proportion as their natural character differed from that of the Goths. Besides, as the enemy possessed the central part of the country, and was ever at hand, it was necessary the greater part of the subsistence should be obtained from the produce of their flocks, and that they should endeavour to establish national wealth upon a basis more certain, and less liable to exposure from the vicissitudes of war, than the productions of agriculture. Even subsequent to the capture of Toledo, the inhabitants of the frontier, who possessed the extent of country through Estramadura, la Mancha, and New Castile, consisted rather of herdsmen and shepherds than husbandmen; and their cattle were depastured in the open common fields, and very rarely in particular meadows, which only could be found in the cultivated parts of the country.

After the Moors had been expelled from Spain, the waste lands might have been brought into cultivation. Religion and policy had combined to require an increase of subsistence, rendered necessary by an augmented population; but both adopted, though with different views, a plan diametrically opposite to that calculated to attain the desirable object. Policy perceiving pastoral ideas, fostered by agrarian laws, to be deeply rooted in the public mind, encouraged the continuance of such ideas, so far as to declare that the waste lands were the exclusive property of the flocks; while charity, considering the same lands as the property of the poor, earnestly contended for their preservation in a pristine state: and neither perceived the obvious consequence, that the very fact alone, of such

such lands being alike commonable to all, must make them more advantageous to the rich, who had numerous herds and flocks, than to the poor, who possessed few or none; and that it was more consonant to the end proposed by both, to have devoted these lands to the production of human subsistence, by subjecting them to culture, which would have rescued a great number of families from misery or want, than to indulge an idle disposition in the inhabitants of commons, the inevitable consequence of which only can be a lure to avarice in the breasts of great cattle proprietors, and an ineffectual resource to the wants and the misfortunes of the poor.

Those who suppose that cattle have been increased by means of waste lands have been greatly deceived. What, it is asked, Had these lands been allotted to different proprietors, inclosed, manured, and cultivated, would they have produced sufficient food for a greater number of cattle than they rear and feed at present? Nay it is even affirmed, that whenever these lands shall be placed under cultivation, that in proportion as they are, so will be the diminution of cattle. This proposition is totally unfounded; for it is easy to shew how commonable lands, reduced into severalty, and converted to arable, would considerably increase cultivation, and would at the same time also sustain as many cattle as they do at present.

But supposing, for an instant, the case otherwise, it may be said, what is the nation benefited, is it richer from this cause, does it contain a greater population, does it produce more human subsistence, or are flocks multiplied? If it should be feared that the price of animal food, the object of the first necessity, should become excessive, then assuredly reflection will shew, the very advancement in the price of such kind of provisions would excite individual interest; which in that case self-moved, and without solicitation, would prefer the increase of cattle to the growing of corn.

This reflection is sufficient to demonstrate how urgent the necessity is, that all the commons and wastes in the kingdom should be instantly put into severalty. What an abundant source

source of wealth would be opened by this single law! By this, the immensely extensive and rich territories, once become the property of particular persons, and placed under the active industry of individual interest, would soon be peopled, broken up, put into a state of productive culture, feed numerous flocks and herds, and at the same time afford as much corn and other nutritious vegetables as might be wished.

One observation, sir, is peculiarly worthy of your attention, that is, whatever part of the country contains the greatest quantity of commonable lands, is invariably the least inhabited; and that to depopulation is to be attributed the fatal precipitation with which the labours of the field are performed in the large farms of those provinces. The allotment of waste lands by increasing population, and the means of subsistence, would furnish a prompt, easy, and efficacious remedy to this evil.

The society abstains from attempting to lay down any precise plan or method of proceeding in this case, as is done in the agrarian law. Let the commonable lands only become the property of individuals, and the state would reap infinite advantage. Let these lands be sold for money, or a reserved rent, or granted in large or small lots upon emphyteotic * leases; any of these different modes would be more or less advantageous, more or less prompt to produce the desirable effects. For these advantages could not fail of accruing, because the interest of the new proprietors would be manifested in a distribution and culture of these lands, better adapted to the wants of the occupiers, their means, to the climate and nature of the soil; and unavoidably, if the laws did not oppose their efforts, they could not fail to pursue a profitable system.

One general and uniform plan would be attended with numerous disadvantages from the varied situation and circumstances of the different provinces. Small allotments would

* These are leases granted upon a long term, or for ever; and are similar to those granted for 999 years, or sine termino, called eternal leases n Ireland.—T.

more particularly favour the increase of population, but these would place the lands in the hands of poor cultivators, whose want of capital would prevent them making the establishments necessary for the amelioration of the soil. Sales, on the other hand, would, by throwing them into the possession of the rich, too far diminish the number of proprietors; and in the part of the country thinly inhabited, they would tend to increase the very large farms, whose cultivation at present is so extensive, comparatively with the smallness of their produce. The enfeoffment of so much land for the public, occasions many embarrassing inconveniencies, both in the origin and management of such concerns; it opens a wide field for the career of fraud, and contributes greatly to impede the progress of agriculture; and by separating the landed interest from the occupation, deprives property of simplicity, and on a principle of personal interest obstructs the advantageous cultivation of the soil. This is the reason why, in any plans proposed, the actual state of every province should be consulted, and that adopted the best calculated to further its improvements.

For example, in Andalusia it might be eligible to commence by allotting to the poor inhabitants small farms, containing sufficient land to enable them to maintain their families: these farms, however, should be of a moderate size, and a right should be given the occupiers of gradually purchasing; so that they might eventually become their respective freeholds. A larger rent might be affixed to such lands as were allotted to persons resident on the commons; and a smaller on those where the occupiers must build, before they could become resident. Yet, in no case should the rent exceed two, nor fall below one per cent of the value of the lands. If higher, it would be oppressive upon the new cultivators, and prevent them from acquiring the means for the redemption of their lands. In this mode population and cultivation might be encouraged in a province, the natural fertility of which promises the most advantageous results.

Other portions of the waste lands in Andalusia, (for in this province

province there is ample sufficiency) might be sold in different large and small lots for ready money, or payable at a fixed period, previously taking proper security; or in consideration of certain fixed rents which could not be sold, might be entailed. Thus would a division of these valuable waste lands become successful; and there cannot be the smallest doubt but plenty of occupiers upon such terms would be found in a country where commerce continually amasses so much wealth; especially at Malaga, Cadiz, Seville, and other cities upon the coast.

In the two Castiles, where the population is greater, the attempt at this improvement might commence by the division of the lands into small lots, and selling them either for ready money, or on credit, having obliged the purchasers to pay annually a portion of the purchase money, which for this purpose might be divided into ten or twelve equal instalments. For the want of commerce and trade in these provinces, and deficiency of capital, the necessary consequence would render it impossible to sell much for ready money. When no more purchasers could be found, either for money or on a grant of credit, the unsold lots might be distributed to a number of poor families, affixing rents similar to those already described. The same plan also might be adopted in Estramadura and La Mancha.

In the northern provinces extending from Portugal to the Pyrenees, there is a vast population, but little money; and where the commonable lands are sterile and few, it would perhaps be more useful to enfeoff them after the accustomed usage of the country, reserving a small rent in kind. The numerous population of these provinces does not allow a doubt to be entertained, but that all the strength necessary for the cultivation of these lands would be quickly applied, that they would soon be rendered productive, and that the assiduity and labour of the inhabitants would supply the deficiency of capital. In short, sir, the society is of opinion that no general rules can be prescribed for carrying this measure into effect,

but should be preceded by an attentive examination into the actual state of every province and separate district, which ought also to be reported to the provincial assemblies, and inspecting municipalities. In a word, the first essential requisite is to decree, that all waste lands should be put into a state of severalty, and then to proceed to detail as to its improvement: this is the point which the society wishes as speedily as possible might be decided.

Of Lands, the Property of Municipalities.

The same plan, perhaps, ought to be adopted with regard to municipal property, by placing it, as to culture, under the care of individual interest. It is granted that such property is inviolable so far as it is guaranteed by law, and that it merits more respect because it tends to the support of municipal establishments; but at the same time it is difficult to conceive how it has happened that the interest of society should not have been combined with individuals by converting these lands into a fruitful source of human subsistence, and public wealth. Were estates, the property of municipal bodies, distributed and enfeoffed, or let at a perpetual rent certain, without ceasing to be the property of such corporate bodies, and providing for the support of municipal police, they would serve also for the sustenance of numerous families, who, excited by their own private interest, would make them so productive as to be highly advantageous both for such municipalities and themselves.

You recognised this fact, when in the years 1768 and 1770 you decreed, that lands belonging to corporations should be allotted to indigent cultivators; but the society begs permission to observe that such intention would be better answered by a general allotment of the whole landed property belonging to such corporate bodies; that it would be more advantageous to grant them in feoff, or at a rent certain, than to lease them for a given term: in fact, to allow the occupiers to redeem the assigned

assigned rent, so that each might eventually become the proprietor of his lot. Without such a disposal little good would result, because it is only by the property in the soil being appropriated and insured to the occupant, that the lively interest which will incite men to persevere in its amelioration can be inspired. That interest which assimilates and identifies itself with every wish of the proprietor, is the most powerful of all motives to overcome his indolence, and encourage him to exercise the most assiduous industry.

The society does not even suppose much inconvenience could arise from the *sale* of such lands. The principle upon which these estates are so sacredly reserved to these corporations, which prevents more useful establishments, must appear at best capricious. The draining of morasses, the rendering rivers navigable, the construction of a port, the cutting a canal, making a road, or building a bridge; the expences of performing any of these defrayed out of the purchase money, arising from the sale of such corporation lands, would tend to diffuse comfort and happiness through the whole district, by encouraging its agriculture and industry, by extending the market for the sale of its productions, and opening new channels for the disposal of its corn and manufactured articles. But of what importance would it have been had corporate bodies thus appropriated their lands? It is certain, in that case, the inhabitants would have taxed themselves for the support of their municipalities; but supposing, that by such a scheme they had been enriched, would it not have been more eligible to have paid at a *twofold* rate while they obtained *four*, than not to have possessed such lands and have paid nothing?

For this reason the society, although it conceives more justice would be exercised in the allotment of these estates, yet it does not conceive any evil could result from the sale and alienation of them, in places where the affluence of the occupants might enable them to purchase. The purchase money placed in the public funds would produce a much more ample income to such corporations, which might be appropriated

with more facility, and being employed upon necessary works, or on such as were of acknowledged utility, would procure for such corporate communities more extensive, certain, and lasting advantages, than those at present derived from such estates.

The usage of granting to corporate bodies commonable pastures, under the idea of multiplying oxen and horses, might present an obstacle to the general disposal of such lands here recommended. But if it is necessary to have recourse to such exceptions in the actual state of our rural legislation, there cannot be a doubt but this necessity would be abolished by the form of our agrarian laws: for then these very exceptions, which at present are founded in utility, would become by the change highly prejudicial. Animals essential for agricultural purposes, will always be a principal object with the farmer; and when public pasturages cease to exist, he will appropriate a proper portion of his own land for the support of his cattle, either in meadows where the climate and soil suit, or in artificial grass lands. This practice obtains in our most populous and best cultivated provinces, where commonable pastures are unknown.

It is doubtless of importance not to suffer the breed of horses necessary for the army to degenerate; but would not private interest be more likely to prevent such deterioration than any laws or municipal regulations? Is it not evident, if a scarcity of good horses were produced by an allotment of commonable pastures, that the love and prospect of gain would induce the proprietors to turn their attention to the propagation and rearing of these animals? Why are fine horses bred and trained with so much care on private pastures in the province of Andalusia, if it were not that they obtain a high price? Can the shameful increase of mules be attributed to any other cause? When it is taken into consideration, that horses are bred with the most scrupulous attention in the pastures of the Asturias and Galicia, in a lean state taken for sale to the markets of Leon, afterwards put in high condition by nourishing hay

hay from the province of La Mancha, to furnish the stables of the capital; is it possible to doubt the justness of the principle advanced? In this manner does industry act as it were in a circle, applying its exertions wherever interest may call; and therefore, if it be desirable to advance the progress of agriculture, it of course becomes necessary to promote this interest by increasing the mass of individual property.

Inclosures.

But when the waste lands may have been converted into severalty, shall a pretended right, sir, be suffered to remain, which in a given time, and under certain circumstances, would again transform this severalty into waste? A vile practice introduced in a time of barbarism, and worthy the age of which it was the despicable offspring, has set up an apology for this shameful and ridiculous custom, of continuing lands in a state of open fields!

The society does not hesitate to pronounce thus severely upon such a practice, because by attentive observation it has found it not only destructive and ruinous, but also unreasonable and unjust. In vain has it examined our legal code to see if such usage could plead a legitimate origin, for not a single statute in general law can be found to authorize it expressly; on the contrary, it is in manifest contradiction with all the laws of Castile: and the society is of opinion that nothing but ignorance of the laws, combined with the preponderating wealth and influence of the rich proprietors of flocks, has contributed to introduce the custom into our judicial courts, and to establish it in opposition to reason and the statutes*, as a part of our *common law*.

Under the Romans the custom of leaving lands open after harvest, and giving up their spontaneous produce to general use, was entirely unknown. The civil law most sacredly pro-

* Respecting these laws, see p. 65. of this volume.

tected the landed proprietor, by allowing him the right to defend his property against every species of usurpation, and rigorously punishing every kind of trespass. Not the least trace of the abuse here complained of can be found, either in the legal institutes, or in any Latin authors. Columella. the best of them, a native of Spain also, and who was thoroughly acquainted with its rural polity, is silent upon the subject; and Varro, in describing the methods at that early period of making fences, particularly mentions the laudable custom of the Spaniards, in building walls for inclosing their property.

The Visigoths were equally ignorant of the usage, for what certain authors have advanced, that the custom of giving up the spontaneous productions of cultivated lands after harvest for common benefit originated with that people, is an assertion upon this subject, as on many others, founded upon the opinion, that the Goths adopted the Roman legislation. A proof they were unacquainted with the practice may be found in the *Fuero Juzgo*, chap. 3, book the viiith.; and more particularly in the viith law of the same, which awards a fine equivalent to quadruple the damage, in case of destroying any fence, even after the crop has been taken off the ground; and if it were still remaining, the delinquent incurred a penalty of a *trenii*, the third of a sous, i. e. three quarters of a farthing, for every stake he might remove, over and above paying for the damage he might occasion to the crop: whence it is evident, their laws protected property, and guaranteed to every proprietor the land which belonged to him.

The actual origin of the mal-practice must be referred to the time when our agriculture was in an uncertain and precarious state, when the country was incessantly harassed by a powerful and neighbouring enemy; when the husbandmen, constrained to seek asylums in castles and fortified places, were obliged to sow and reap in haste; and when, for want of security, landed property was without inhabitants, uninclosed, and unimproved: in a word, when there was nothing to protect after the crop was removed, and when equally interesting

resting to all was the introduction of cattle. In this state were the plains of Leon and Old Castile, even so late as the capture of Toledo; those of New Castile, la Mancha, and part of Andalusia, even to the time when Seville was taken; and those on the frontiers of Granada, Navarre, Portugal, and Aragon, down to the union of the several kingdoms under one crown. The usual mode in which both the Moors and Christians carried on warfare in those ferocious periods of history, consisted in burning granaries, destroying the vines and olives, and carrying away whatever flocks or people they could take upon the frontiers.

Yet this usage, or rather the consequent relinquishment of it from accidental and transient circumstances, could not alienate from the proprietors the right of inclosing their lands, if they chose to do so. If they left their fields open, it was the effect of a free act of their own, and which could never be construed into a legal custom, when there existed nothing which could establish it as a common right. In fact, it was never general, not having found admission in the mountainous nor irrigated parts of the country. It was unreasonable, because contrary to all the essential rights of property: and it was in point blank contradiction with the laws. For neither the *Fuero* code of Leon, nor the ancient one of Castile, nor the Alphonsine statutes, nor the general ordinances; although these codes were cotemporaneous with the rise and progress of this abuse, and abound with regulations for rural polity, yet they do not contain a single prohibition of inclosures, and consequently the right of inclosing inherent in property is agreeable to our legislation. How then has so shameful an abuse been suffered to continue in practice among us, notwithstanding the perfect silence of the law upon the subject?

By assiduous research the society has at length discovered two laws, *de la recopilacion*, which have furnished pleaders with pretexts for establishing this unaccountable claim. Desirous of extirpating an error so prejudicial to the interests of agriculture, it entered into some investigations upon both these

these laws, calling to its aid the light of history. The first was promulgated at Cordova by the catholic kings, after the conquest of Granada, November 3, A. D. 1491. The new proprietors, who had obtained lands and goods by a division of the spoils of conquest, were desirous of inclosing them, that they might be enabled to reap the exclusive profit. The immense flocks this country contained at that period, added to the cattle of both its frontiers, rendered the scarcity of pasturage instantaneously evident. Inclosures, till then unknown in the frontier part of the country, for causes already assigned, appeared a novelty. The proprietors of cattle preferred complaints against the innovation, and the opinion of the times being more favourable to pasture than arable, dictated the law which prohibited inclosures, and which gave a blow so much more fatal to landed property, as the fertility of the country and the advantage of water peculiarly adapted it for the culture of the most valuable grain and fruits. Such is the meaning of the third law *de la recopilacion*, chapter 7, book 7. But then it does not appear this was a general law, being nothing more than a municipal regulation; or, at most, a law confined to the territory of Granada, and to the lands and domains distributed after the conquest of that kingdom; it might therefore be considered as a kind of conditional clause annexed to such gratuitous distribution; and in this sense it is not binding on national property, it only defines what was proper to be observed by those to whom the lands in that particular country had been granted. It is, therefore, evident this law does not establish a general claim for the rest of the nation; nor does it, in the least degree, infringe the right which every landed proprietor naturally possesses, the power of inclosing his own estate.

The same observation may be made upon the following law, the 14th of the same book and chapter. The ideas and principles which dictated the enacting that of Cordova occasioned the revocation of the celebrated ordinance of Avila; yet the intention of these laws very materially differed; both bear

bear date at one period, the 14th law having been promulgated by the catholic kings at Vaga in Granada, the 5th of July, A. D. 1431, five months after the law of Cordova was renewed at Seville; but these two laws had a very different aim, a proof of which will here be advanced.

The revocation of the ordinance of Avila had no intention to prohibit inclosures in general, but only circular inclosures*. The first were inherent in property, the second had no affinity with the other, and were actual usurpations; those favoured agriculture, these were injurious to it; so that the government, in fact, established no new exemption, and did not in the least degree infringe upon the rights of property, confining its view simply to establish an ancient claim, and prevent the abuses which certain proprietors had practised. In this view of the subject the repeal of the ordinance of Avila was an act of strict justice. This ordinance having allowed circular inclosures, encouraged the accumulation of property in the same hands, the extension of farms, and cast obstacles in the way of making a subdivision of property, was therefore useful to wealthy, and injurious to small proprietors. It established besides a monopoly of territory more advantageous to the rich than the poor; and particularly distressing to strangers, by interdicting even a way for their flocks, and refusing to let them drink of those waters and streams which nature had indifferently afforded to the wants of all. In short, it tended to encourage the increase of large domains, made under the pretence of particular and private inclosures, abridged the rights of *monte* and *sorte*, so strongly recommended by our ancient laws, favoured the establishment of great lordships and privileged jurisdictions, manorial descents, and noble entails, which retarded the progress of agriculture, and rendered ineffectual the efforts of agriculturists. Such was the nature of the famous ordinance issued from Avila, so

* These were a kind of *ring fences*, or manorial boundaries, set up by great proprietors, excluding society in general, or other individuals, from the exercise of their undoubted rights and privileges.—T.

properly

properly disannulled by that junta, which pointed its attention to the prohibition of circular inclosures, and that only in the district of Avila. How then can the defence of prohibiting inclosures be attempted upon the insupportable ground of such a law?

Our lawyers, however, have carried the opinion into our courts of justice, where by their decisions it has been established. The society does not pretend to be unacquainted with the influence exercised upon this subject by the *Mesta*. The members of that body have always aimed at soliciting peculiar privileges, and having been sufficiently powerful to obtain and extend them, have invariably given the most decided resistance to every system proposed for inclosure. Not pleased with *possessing* the privilege of keeping lands once under pasturage for ever in the same state; not content with preserving and extending the *cañadas*,* not satisfied with the right of successively participating in all the public pastures, and obtaining an universal *fictitious* franchise, directly in opposition to the insuring and intent of the ancient laws; the *Mesta* wishes also to alienate individual property. The shepherds, who, with their immense flocks traverse the whole kingdom from Leon to Estremadura, at a season of the year when a moiety of the cultivated lands through which they pass are ploughed, and which, on their return from Estremadura to Leon, they again find to have received the first process of husbandry; begin to consider these fields and fallows as resources whence they may derive the most desirable advantages. This usurpation gives a fatal stab to property. The laws of the *Mesta* perpetuate the prohibition of inclosures, the itinerant court of the *Entregadores*† supports this prohibi-

* *Cañadas* are roads of many leagues in extent reserved for the passage of flocks, called *merinos* or transhumantes, and which are never allowed to be put in a state of cultivation.

† *Entregadores* are judges who decide all questions relative to the violations of the privileges annexed to the *Mesta*. The number is twelve, who are justices in eyre, forming an itinerant court.

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tion with unceasing zeal; its oppressions eternize the laying open estates, and by its undue influence and authority the liberty of proprietors and their tenants is annihilated.

But without further discussing the question of right, reason imperiously demands the remedying such a glaring and destructive abuse. The natural principle of justice, and the rights of society, which should take precedence of all law and custom, and are more sacred than the regulations of any legislative code, condemn this violation of individual property. Every portion of landed produce, granted to the use of another without the consent of the proprietor is an indefensible seizure of his rights, inconsistent with the character of every just law, and every practice deserving imitation. To prohibit a proprietor inclosing his domain, to prohibit a farmer from preventing a promiscous entry upon his lands, is not only to deprive both of the enjoyment of what is unalienably their own, but also of the means for the resistance of oppression. What opinion ought to be formed of a law which should forbid the occupiers of farms to lock the doors of their granaries?

Here the principles of legislation are found consentaneous with civil economy and the suggestions of experience. The labour of man should be measured by his attachment to property; he loves it as the pledge of his existence because he is fed by it; it is an object of his ambition because it gives him ascendency; he considers it the safeguard and support of his declining years, and, if the expression may be allowed, as the presage of his immortality, because upon that depends, in a considerable degree, the lot of his posterity. It is upon this ground that attachment to property is considered the salutary source of all industry, and that to it may justly be attributed the surprising progress which skill and labour have unitedly made in agricultural improvement; from whence it follows laws, which guarantee to every individual the exclusive possession of his property, strengthen and increase this attachment; while, on the other hand, those which allow other

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persons to participate in the advantages enfeeble and diminish it: the first incite individual interest, the second paralyse it; the former are just and profitable, the latter unjust and injurious to the cause of agriculture.

The influence which these laws produce is not confined to landed property, it extends also to that arising from labour. The tenant of an inclosed estate entrusted with the rights of the proprietor, and possessed of this encouragement, that he shall be exclusive master within such an inclosure, incessantly bedews his forehead with sweat, and he is stimulated to unceasing toil by the hope of recompence; scarcely has he harvested his crop when he prepares the land for new products: he turns up the soil, cleans and manures it, and commits to it more seed, and by never suffering it to rest he extends the produce of the estate without extending its limits: what other cause can be assigned for the very flourishing state of agriculture visible in some few of our provinces?

You, sir, have acknowledged this truth in authorising by your edict of June the 15th, 1788, the inclosure of lands appropriated to kitchen-gardens, and the culture of vines and seeds. But why should lands subject to a different kind of culture be less entitled to your protection? Why should corn, which is the grand support of human subsistence, and forms the very sinews of agriculture, receive less attention than wine, vegetables, or fruit, the principal portion of which is consumed at the tables of opulence and luxury? Where is the source, or what can be the motive of a distinction as enormous and unaccountable in its principle as it is injurious and fatal in its effects?

It is time, sir, it is high time, that barbarous customs so opposite to the good of individual property should be abolished. It is time that the chains which so shamefully bind down our agriculture, by violations of the dearest rights of agriculturists, should be burst asunder. What! the spontaneous production of the fields, whether in fallows or after the first ploughing, the ears and grain which fall, the leavings of the reapers, do they

they not constitute a part of the produce arising from the land and labour? and should they not then form a portion of the rent of the land-owner and the profits of the farmer? It is a mistaken charity, a kind of Jewish division, by which these have been given up to the voracity of cattle, the gluttony of the peasantry,* and the cupidity of the idle, who rest their hope of living without labour, upon what they may procure by *earing* and *gleaning*.

The Utility of inclosing Lands.

The consequence of abolishing this abuse would be the inclosure of all the estates in Spain. In the cold and watery parts of the country, inclosures would be naturally formed of thorns or other shrubs; fences as little expensive as they would be good, not less necessary to protect the crops than to divide the lands, to enrich the soil, and multiply its produce.—In the drier parts artificial fences would be preferred. The wealthy would encompass their lands with walls, the poorer sort with turf. The walls would in those places where stone abounds be constructed with it; in others of brick. Every district, every proprietor, every tenant, would adopt such a method of inclosing as to him might appear best adapted to the climate, to his resources, and to his capital: still all the lands would be inclosed, to the inexpressible benefit of agriculture and the state. Such was the police of Spain in the time of the Romans, and such is it still in the well cultivated provinces, and in every nation of Europe worthy to be considered an agricultural country.

* Whoever has any doubt respecting these inconveniences, may consult Herrera (Lib 1, cap. 17). He observes, "that peas ought to be sown far distant from roads and frequented places, in the middle of wheat fields, or inclosed tracts, for when they are tender there is not a person passing, even a friar on a fast day, but will take a handful. Shepherds and others make constant havoc. And what is the consequence, when the women come to discover them? Not an hail-storm would be more destructive.—It is therefore proper they should be sown in inclosed or well-sheltered places, that the harvest may be gathered before it is known that the fields have been sown."

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An increase of trees, so desirable and so vainly sought for under the present system, would be the natural consequence of inclosures. The zeal of such persons as have paid attention to this important subject is deserving the highest praise. But is it not evident that the prohibiting inclosures has baffled all their schemes, and rendered unavailing all their efforts to accomplish the aim of their exertions? It is certain that in the irrigated parts of the country and in many that are not, trees spontaneously increase; but in very hot and dry districts they cannot naturally thrive: indeed nature, who teems with sylvan productions, condescends to be assisted by art on this as well as many other occasions.

Still where is the proprietor, where is the farmer, who would attempt to plant trees on the borders of his grounds, if he apprehended that the browsing of animals would be permitted to destroy in a single day the labour of years? But were he to possess the power of protecting them after they are planted, as he does of securing his crop after it is sown, every one would be induced to plant, at least in those places where trees would be productive of advantage.

It is true trees are at present protected by law, and punishment is awarded against persons found pulling them up, or otherwise injuring plantations; laws also exist against robbers; and yet no person on that account leaves his money in the street. Men naturally place more confidence in their own precaution than in legal protection; and it is reasonable they should act so; for by this means they prevent the commission of crimes, whereas laws only punish them when committed; and though in some cases they grant a recompense for the injury sustained, yet in no instance do they give an equivalent for the time, anxiety, and trouble expended for the purpose of obtaining justice.

Another natural consequence of inclosures would be to confine cultivation to smaller farms; for then cultivators would discover, by possessing exclusive privileges, they should be enabled to reap more corn or feed more cattle upon their lands, and

and to profit more by their industry; because they could act more freely and with greater certainty of ultimate success. A larger portion of labour might be employed upon a smaller quantity of land, the farmer at the same time be better recompensed, and what would be a necessary consequence, the country would have less extensive, but better cultivated farms.

The society did not intend here to touch upon the question so often agitated among modern economists, respecting the preference which ought to be given to large, or small farms. This question, in itself of the first importance, forms however, but indirectly, a subject of legislation; for the division of estates being a necessary consequence of landed property, the business of laws is to protect that, and leave the distribution of lands to the natural course of things. Still, however, the security of property will infallibly prevent the accumulation of rich lands in few hands.

Preference would be naturally given to small farms in cold and irrigated districts, where the climate and irrigation conduce to render the lands continually productive, and where farmers from being obliged to multiply and repeat the different fertilizing processes should have the sphere of their labours restricted to a small extent. By this plan human activity would be increased, and more certain of accomplishing its aim: a greater produce would be gathered from a less portion of land: and farms would be properly more subdivided and confined in their limits. What other reason could have existed for reducing them to the least possible extent in Murcia, Valencia, in Guipuscoa, and in a considerable portion of the Asturias and Galicia?

But in a dry and hot country, it is equally proper to give the preference to large farms. The lands of Andalusia, la Mancha, and Estramadura, are not adapted to produce two crops in the same year: affording therefore less scope for the continual application of labour, the sphere of its action may be extended with propriety. Even to obtain one harvest annually, the husbandmen are under the necessity of shifting the seed and al-

ternating a strong with a less exhausting crop; one which requires more sun, with another that extracts less juices from the soil. The most general practice is to sow the land every other year, reserving it for pasturage in the intervening period.—But those pastures in districts which have not the advantages of irrigation are always very poor. Consequently a larger portion is essential to the farmer's support: for this reason in dry and hot districts farms have usually been laid out upon a more extensive scale.

Further, in stating the advantages peculiar to each of these systems, it is proper to observe, that large farms may be suitable for the rich, and smaller ones for the poorer sort of cultivators; but it cannot be denied that immensely large farms, such as are in Andalusia, are and must be in all cases prejudicial and ruinous, even allowing, that both the proprietor and tenant were possessed of large capitals; for they are either badly or not sufficiently cultivated, because the necessary labour is conducted and performed by mercenary persons, who are brought from a distance on account of the pressing haste arising from the circumstances of times and seasons; and cultivation is always imperfect, owing to the great extent of the lands, which do not admit of being equally manured and cleaned like smaller farms: in a word they are less productive, because they are incompatible with that economy and attentive care essential to a good cultivation; and which in no case is attainable where the farmer holds more land than he possesses strength for the necessary labour it requires. Is it not a lamentable thing to see good lands sown once in three years and the other two left in a state of fallow? The opinion of Virgil is very applicable to such farms:

"——— laudato ingentia rura;
Exiguum cœlito."

This equilibrium, whatever its nature may be, this reasonable division of lands, the proportion which should be preserved between the nature of the climate and soil, the funds of the proprietor and the capital of the tenant, cannot be associated with

with the prohibition of inclosures. The right of inclosing would, when exercised, distribute the lands into small lots in a cold and watered country, and in districts capable of irrigation; which would again be subdivided into meadows, arable fields, kitchen gardens, &c. It would tend properly to unite with pasturage the cultivation of corn; and by increasing the rich pastures, and affording facility to labour, would greatly improve the culture, and augment to the highest possible pitch the productions of the soil.

The society consider also, an increase of population would be the consequence of inclosing, and a proper distribution of farms. A portion of ground inclosed, planted with trees, and of sufficient extent for the subsistence of a family, would naturally invite one to settle on it with their cattle and implements of husbandry. It is in such a case that the interest of the farmer is constantly roused by the objects around him, and seeing by continual observation the effects of his industry, he extends at once the sphere of his skill and activity, and applies himself to the most productive labour. Always occupied on his land, surrounded by his auxiliaries in toil, ever attentive to the demands of culture, and assisted in this vigilance by the family, his powers increase; and with those the produce of his industry. In this may be found the solution of an enigma, none but those enlightened by experience are able to solve;—the amazing produce of lands in Guipuscoa, the Asturias, and Galicia; which is entirely owing to a wise distribution of estates, and the increased population of the country.

Separating then the advantages which agriculture would derive from an increased population, the society wishes to advert more particularly to what, sir, is most interesting to your paternal care and attention. A large population expanded over a country, not only contributes to make people industrious and wealthy; but also simple and virtuous. The farmer residing on his farm is exempt from the attacks of those evil passions which agitate the bosoms of men, assembled together in cities; and is placed at a greater distance from the contaminating in-

fluence of corruption, which luxury never fails to communicate with greater or less activity. Concentrated with his family in the sphere of his labours, he may on the one hand occupy himself without intermission in the exclusive object of his interest, while on the other, he finds himself induced to it by those affections of love and tenderness so natural to man in a state of domestic society. Then not only might be expected from cultivators of the soil application, frugality, and plenty, the consequences of both, but you would also see prevalent in families, conjugal, paternal, filial, and fraternal tenderness; concord, charity, and hospitality would reign among them: our farmers would possess all those private virtues, and social qualities, which are the happiness of families, and the real glory and greatness of a state. Nor should these advantages be confined to the country people of a district comprizing small farms; it appears of importance, that the population of such districts which contain larger farms should receive an increase also. The advantages resulting from farmers residing upon their farms are equally common to both; and are perhaps more apparent in the latter; for a greater capital, which extensive cultivators are supposed to possess, supposes ameliorations and more efficacious means of advancing their cultivation.—And what means more simple, and which better accords with natural justice, can government adopt than oblige to reside on their own domains the multitude of proprietors of moderate fortune*, who, crowded in the capital and other large cities, dissipate their revenues in the indulgences of luxury? These unfortunate people, the slaves of a fatal delusion, flying from the comforts which await them in the country, seek for happiness where it is not to be found; and, influenced by

* What Varro observed of the Romans, Lib. ii, is justly applicable on this occasion. "*Omnes enim patres familiæ, falce et aratro, relictis intra murum corripimus, et in circis potius, ac teatris quam in segetibus et vinetis, manus monemus.*" A few of the causes and consequences of this evil will hereafter be pointed out.

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fashion, are tempted to rival the state and expences of the most princely fortunes, and thus shamefully accomplish in a few years their own downfall, and the ruin of their innocent families. The friends of their country, sir, cannot look with an eye of indifference on this deplorable spectacle; nor fail to call your attention to an evil, the consequences of which exceed all belief in their devastating effects.

Here a reflection naturally occurs, the consequence of the preceding observations; that is, without a proper distribution of lands, and attention being given to the population of any district, the same means, which might have been conducive to its improvement, will turn to its disadvantage, and this may be illustrated by a recent example.

No complaint is more common amongst the occupiers of irrigated farms than that of the necessity they are under of keeping open sluices and trenches for the purposes of irrigation. Not only do they consider the tax they have to pay as a grievance, but they also assert, that lands become sterile through irrigation. Is there any foundation for such a paradoxical opinion? The society is of opinion there is to a certain degree.

Where consists the advantage of irrigation? In dry and hot countries in preparing the soil, so as to enable it to support continual production. But would this advantage be compatible with very large farms in open fields, distant a league, or a league and a half, from the dwellings of the husbandmen? Doubtless not. An inhabitant of Framista, or of Monzon, for instance, who cultivates a farm of the above description on the banks of the Castile canal, and who sows his land but one year in two, would he derive from irrigation an advantage adequate to the labour and expence incurred in the process? This is the simple and natural explanation of the ground on which a clamour has been raised, and which has been the occasion of so many absurd invectives against the supposed ignorance and sloth of our agriculturists.

It cannot be denied, that the system of irrigation occasions

a prodigious increase in the produce of such lands on which it is generally practised, but at the same time it should be recollected, that it requires a proportionate augmentation of labour and money. Artificial watering of lands is expensive; because it must be bought. A farmer does not reap the benefits of irrigation, without paying an additional consideration to the proprietor; and which it is highly reasonable he should pay, because such kind of property is subject to a heavy demand. Watered lands are expensive, because great care and attention is requisite to cleanse and keep in proper order the trenches, open and shut the hatches, distribute, direct, and confine the water: all occupy time, and time in agriculture, as in all other branches of productive industry, requires pecuniary compensation. They are expensive because the increased produce demands more and reiterated labour, and the land also more manure, to furnish the soil with the salts and heat, which are continually exhausted by the perpetual succession of crops. In a word, they are expensive because it is necessary to augment the number of cattle for the purpose of increasing labour and procuring a sufficient quantity of manure; and to effect this, a certain portion of cultivated land must be appropriated to pasture. This being the fact, how can irrigation comport with the taste or interest of a farmer, who, distant from an extensive estate, is incapable of devoting that time and attention to the subject, which culture, under a system of irrigation, to be profitable, necessarily requires?

Thus has inclosing become an imperious demand. The multiplication of cattle is the foundation of all good husbandry, these cannot be increased but by rich pastures; and to obtain them water meads are essential. "*Prata irrigua,* observed Cato, *si aquam habebis potissimum facito; si aquam non habebis sicca quam plurima.*" This judicious maxim presupposes that lands are inclosed and secured; for in open fields it could not be reduced to practice. In some provinces of France, particularly in Anjou, where agriculture is pursued upon a grand scale,

scale, the farmers are not satisfied in possessing valuable meadows, but they sow their lands one year in every three to profit by depasturing them in the years they are left to rest.—This certainly is not a practice consonant with a high state of improvement; but how much more eligible is it, than that adopted upon farms in Andalusia, where lands after having produced one crop are left to the havoc of strange cattle, and of course can be of no utility to the flocks and herds belonging to the farm? How many disputes and litigations have originated in the environs of Seville, from the custom of shutting the *manchones*, that is to say, the third of the last third of lands lying in fallow, or the ninth part of the produce; notwithstanding this, seclusion does not continue longer than from Michaelmas to the beginning of May, and is necessary for the preservation of beasts destined to perform the labours of husbandry.

In fact, sir, inclosures would terminate the vain and endless disputes, respecting the preference which ought to be given, either to oxen or mules for the use of the plough? After a careful investigation of this question, the society is of opinion, that, abstractedly from considering the quality of the lands, and the greater or less facility with which they may be worked, the fact of their remaining in an open, or inclosed state, must have a great effect; and while it appears impossible that very large farms, in open fields, scanty in herbage, and lying far from the residence of the farmer, can be profitably cultivated by animals whose labour and tread is light, who feel reluctance to the confinement of a stable, and still more to eating dried hay; it considers also, that a farmer resident upon his farm, productive in herbage, would not give the preference to the nasty and imperfect work of a sterile and expensive monster, over the services of a meek, docile, fecund, and indefatigable animal, which ruminates more than he eats, which enriches his owner as much after his death as while alive; and that is by nature apparently formed to be the best auxiliary to the

labours of the field, and a fruitful source of wealth in rural economy*.

The society, in requiring that the laws should authorise inclosures, would not wish that any kind of rural property should be excluded from the advantage: arable lands, meadows, kitchen-gardens, vineyards, olive orchards, woods, and forests, every thing ought to be inclosed; because all would tend to give support to the diligence and exclusive advantage of individual interest, and be an encouragement to its activity; all would derive essential benefit, and the lands rendered much more productive by the operative influence of such a beneficial system.

The management of forests, which has occupied the attention of government for three centuries past, would be facilitated by means of inclosures. It is a subject of surprise to every one, that, after so many plans which have been adopted upon this subject, none have accomplished their aim; but only establish the practice of general inclosing, and the preservation of forests would be guaranteed.

It is an undoubted truth, that forests propagate themselves, and, when once planted, want no other care for their reproduction and continuance than protection till the trees arrive at a tolerable size. There are also many districts which, if inclosed, would soon become fine wood lands; because the fences would preserve the stools and roots of such trees as formerly grew there; the winds, waves, and birds carry fruits and seeds from one place to another; and nature, more lavish

* Varro and Columella suppose oxen, in general, most eligible for the plough, but they do not object to the occasional use of cows, mules, or even asses, according to different districts; and Columella instances some parts of Betica, which might be profitably cultivated with asses: but nothing can be more decisive upon this subject than the remark of Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. xvii. cap. 3, relative to what he had witnessed in Africa. "In Byratio Africæ illum centena quinquagena fruge fertilem campum nullis cum siccus est, arabile tauris, post imbres, vili asello, et a parte altera jugi anu vomerem trahente vidimus scindi."

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of this part of her productions, conceals in the bosom of the earth primordial germs, which she appropriates to the benefit of every climate and every district.

It is true that this plan of amelioration should not merely confine its views to obtaining for property the right of inclosure; but it should also break a thousand fetters by which it has been legislatively chained; abrogate the ordinances respecting woods and forests; the municipal edicts respecting districts and commonwealth lands; in short, every thing which has been done to the present time, and comprehended under the idea of *forest-laws*. Let the proprietors of woods have a right to dispose of the timber to the best advantage, and the nation would soon possess beautiful and extensive forests.

The natural effect of such liberty would be to excite the interest of proprietors, and to restore that activity and assiduity, which have been alienated by such restrictive statutes. Necessitated to submit to have their trees marked with a stamp of slavery, which places their disposal in the hands of another; to solicit as a favour, and pay for the permission of, cutting down a single tree for private use; to shroud and lop in a prescribed time, and subjected to certain regulations, and to sell the wood, whether agreeable to themselves or not, at a stated price; to allow the inquisitorial visits of official surveyors; to make returns of the state and number of trees in their respective plantations: after such a view, what inducement can the proprietors have to pay a pointed attention to their woods and forests? And while private interest would form so powerful a motive for their preservation, what unaccountable policy has substituted in its place the dread of punishment?

Fire-wood, as well as every other kind, is become so rare, sir, that the oppressive scarcity in some provinces loudly calls for your attention; and the cause of it you will discover in the very measures adopted for its prevention: only revoke the legal regulations, and plenty would be the result. Scarcity causes its high price, and this would be the strongest inducement

ment to private interest, which, encouraged by liberty of action, would direct all its care and attention to increase the quantity; for most industry is usually applied to the most profitable concerns. Is it not the fact, that every proprietor endeavours to derive from his estate the greatest possible advantage? Then in places where the price of wood was dear from a scarcity of fuel, coppices would be particularly cherished, and even additional ones planted: where trade and luxury encouraged building, the preference would be given to trees adapted for that purpose: and again, in the environs of arsenals, to the raising timber proper for the construction of ships, and for carriages, and other local uses. Such is the natural progress of every kind of culture, of every kind of planting, and every branch of productive industry. It originates in consumption, and its extension and regulation are subsequently governed by individual interest.

The society is apprised of the fact, that in the present state of Europe the royal navy forms a principal object of public defence; but can it be said that restrictive laws and ordinances will better guarantee timber fit for the dock-yards than the private interest of the proprietors? Naval timber is certainly not scarce in Spain. What grows in the mountains which separate the Pyrenees, at Cape Finisterre on the one side, and Cape Creus on the other, is sufficient to satisfy the demands of the navy for centuries. The mountainous districts of the Asturias alone, although they have long supplied the great dock-yards of Guarnizo and Esteyro, are not yet exhausted, but might still furnish a sufficient quantity to build formidable squadrons. Whence then arises that puerile fear, which has led to so many violent measures, under the idea of precautions, to so many ridiculous laws, injurious to this valuable species of property, and which have defeated their own intentions; while they have encouraged the increase of a number of plants, which long experience has demonstrated to be not only unprofitable but hurtful; by taking trees from the woods where they spontaneously grew and thrived, to another soil less

less congenial to their nature, and where they are only transplanted to be destroyed; at the same time that unprofitable seeds are multiplied. For nothing but a forced badly-managed culture, which costs little, can be expected from able planters in such cases, while they are subject to inspections, now dwindled into formal visits, except when they become, as they often do, pretexts to vex and oppress the poor. In short, while the execution of laws and ordinances, founded upon reasons so absurd and so diametrially opposite to the principles of justice and equity, is so strongly recommended, would it not be wise to attend to the complaints of individuals, the petitions of communities, the joint remonstrances of both magistrates and people, who unanimously agree in opposing a system inimical to private property and public liberty?

The society does not slight the meritorious services of the present minister of marine, nor can it possibly refuse the thanks so justly due to him, for the scrupulous attention he has paid to the protection of individual property in woods and forests; the strictness with which he has restrained the spirit of monopoly and speculation; the justice he has evinced in allowing the proprietors a fair and liberal price for their timber; indeed, the uniform zeal he has manifested for the prevention of abuses, and the amelioration of the system. But, sir, the root of the evil deplored lies much deeper. It is inherent in the system itself, and if not extirpated, every attempt of zeal and effort of justice will prove abortive for its correction, and the evil will propagate itself to perpetuity. The only effectual remedy which can be applied is, to put individual property under the protection of equitable laws.

When will the time arrive in which the right of property shall be established? When the naval board shall purchase timber without exercising undue privileges, and conduct their bargains, like other purchasers, upon the principle of mutual consent? It feels apprehensive of a scarcity of timber. But would not the interest of proprietors be a motive sufficiently powerful to engage them to supply the existing demands?

Perhaps

Perhaps it may be thought in such a case, the proprietors might fix their own price. But the navy being principally the consumer of this description of timber, it would rather tend to fix the price than otherwise; large timber, if applied to any other use, would invariably sell for a higher price than might be obtained for it in the different dock-yards of the royal navy; consequently the proprietors would always endeavour to sell to the dock-yards. All large timber, the woods of which abound in the mountainous districts, would be bought to supply the demands of naval architecture; numerous plantations would be made in the maritime provinces in prospect of future gain; and freedom, exciting the private interest of all, would at length produce excellent timber, and the abundance would establish a plentiful and cheap market: an effect absurdly expected from laws and ordinances.

Indeed, woods in general ought not to be subject to any other regulation. The society, therefore, think that those can never be so carefully attended to as when they become private property, inclosing permitted, and the felling left to the discretion of the proprietors; because their preservation would be better secured by being committed to individual interest. The large timbered woods, which are principally situated upon the heights, destitute alike of houses and cultivators, might remain common and uninclosed; but their situation renders all inspection of the laws useless. In some cases permission might be granted the common people to depasture a third, fourth, fifth, or sixth part, according to the extent of the forest; while the rest should be inclosed as a future nursery: the difficulty in carrying this timber secures it for naval use, because the marine alone can find it advantageous to surmount the obstacles which arise from precipices and rivers, in its removal to the sea.

Adopt, sir, these principles; let forests only become private property; let the proprietors have the exclusive profits; give perfect freedom to planting, cultivation, management, and sale of timber; then forges and furnaces, arts and trades, the demands for

for constructing houses, and building ships of war and merchant vessels, would be furnished with abundant supplies, and at a moderate price: circumstances in vain expected under the present system.

Partial Protection of Culture.

Such would have been the effect of freedom over all the departments of agriculture, had all received equal protection; but the laws, by partially protecting some, have contributed little to their advancement; while, at the same time, they have impeded the progress of others. Instead of having proposed, and uniformly pursued one reasonable plan, the advancing agricultural improvement in its whole extent—for the legislature should have no other aim but the public wealth; they have in preference protected and encouraged such branches of culture only, as have promised to be of great or momentary utility. This system of partial and exclusive protection, these prerogatives, these privileges, and these regulations, have only served to paralyze the activity and prevent the progress of improvements in agriculture.

And is it possible it should be otherwise? Interest, sir, possesses a more prompt and clear judgment than zeal for the public good. It understands how to take advantage of circumstances and events, pursues them step by step; and by circuitous, as well as direct, methods accomplishes its aim; while zeal for the public good is occupied in abstract reasoning, viewing things as they ought to be, or as it desires they should be; forms plans without ever calculating the impediments they may have opposed to them in the execution, by individual interest, which destroys their power before any effects are produced, to the great detriment of the public.

After these reflections, what must be thought of all those laws and municipal regulations which have fettered the liberty of proprietors and tenants in the use and management of their lands? Of such, for instance, as prevent them from laying

ing down arable to grass, or converting pasture into arable land? Of such as restrict planting, and prohibit the transplanting of vines and other fruit-trees? In short, of all those which attempt to accelerate, or retard by particular rules, the inclination of agriculturists towards any single branch of agriculture more than another? Are the authors of such regulations better acquainted with what crops can be most advantageously produced from the land, than those who are to benefit by its productions? And to render a country as productive as it is capable, should not every person be permitted to derive from his land the utmost possible advantage?

This advantage usually depends upon accidental and unforeseen events, which often vary and rapidly change. A new source of commerce favours a new branch of culture, because the profits accruing once known, induce farmers to turn their attention particularly to that department. Thus when the price of meat rises in the market, those possessing flocks, and not having sufficient grass to feed them, if active farmers, will convert a portion of their arable land into pasture for the purpose. When great internal consumption, or the demands for exportation, advance the price of wine and oil, all would occupy themselves in planting vines and olives; when the price became low, and that of corn high, they would break up the land and sow grain. The legislature ought, therefore, instead of obstructing, to encourage this flux and reflux of private interests, without which agriculture, so far from advancing, will not be able to maintain its present ground.

Were there no examples at present to establish this doctrine, how many might be found in the ancient and modern history of all nations? The introduction of luxury into the Roman empire, after the conquest of Asia, effected a complete change in the agricultural system of Italy. To illustrate this it will only be necessary just cursorily to read over what the Roman writers have said upon the subject, from which it appears that the principal attention of persons possessing lands in the environs

virons of the capital was turned to raising fruits and vegetables, and fattening cattle, poultry, fish, &c. for the use of the table. The dove-cotes, the fish-ponds, and other similar establishments, all produced immense profits. And why? Because the laws encouraged that branch of industry, and because such was the demand for dainties, that all their produce was scarcely sufficient to supply the public tables, at the dinners given on particular anniversaries, and days of triumph, or to satisfy the Luculluses and the Heliogabulluses of the time.

The Roman history suggests another remark, which corroborates this argument. Sallust observes* that the Roman soldiery, who used to be temperate and virtuous, when Sylla had introduced into the army a relaxation of discipline, began to abandon themselves to wine, and other debilitating pleasures. The consequence was, the culture of the vine became so profitable, that according to the later writers upon agriculture, it was the most advantageous, and what they chiefly recommended in their works. The fostering legislation of Rome had a great influence upon this preference; the distributions of corn exacted from the tributary provinces, which were made to the immense population either gratuitously, or at a very low price, necessarily tended to reduce the price of grain, not only in the capital, but through Italy, and to divert the attention of agriculturists to other objects. The consequence was, the country adjacent to Rome, the whole of Italy, and the provinces, were so overstocked with vineyards, that Domitian, not satisfied with prohibiting the formation of new plantations in Italy †, issued

* Ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare, signa, tabulas pictas, vasa celata mirari. Catil. 11.

† Ad summam quandem ubertatem vini, frumenti vero inopiam existimans nimio vinearum studio negligi arva edixit. *Nequis in Italia novellaret, utque in provinciis vineta, succiderentur relicta, ubi plurimum dimidia parte.* Suet. in Domic. This barbarous law was abolished by Probus. M. H. E. lib. iv. cap. 11. To conciliate the affections of the provinces, observes the historian, he abrogated and disannulled the edict of Domitian, which prohibited the making new plantations in Spain and Gaul.

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an edict to eradicate a moiety of the vines throughout the whole extent of the empire. This edict was, in fact, as nugatory as it was unjust; the superfluity of wine would have quickly reduced the price, and re-established in preference the cultivation of grain; and it also furnishes a convincing proof of the imbecility of all laws, in opposing the vicissitudes natural to agriculture, and which clearly demonstrates that the legislature can only consult the public good by attending to the natural course of events.

But what necessity is there to have recourse to foreign countries for examples, or to appeal to the history of other times? What are become of the vines once so abundant in Cazalla? Scarcely a single vine-tree is to be seen in the vicinity of a place which once was famous for its vineyards: all have been broken up and planted with olives, or converted into arable lands. Since the intercourse with America, which formerly gave the preference to the wine of that province, which then favoured the culture of the vine, the interest of the landed proprietors nearer the coast has been excited; and the environs of Seville, St. Lucar, and Xeres, are become covered with vineyards: the trade has shewn their produce the preference on account of the convenience of exportation, and the wines of Cazalla, unable to support an unequal competition, have ceased to be in demand.

This cause, connected with the separation of Portugal from Spain, has filled this part of the coast with orange and lemon trees, which have gradually left the Asturias, Galicia, and La Montagne, which so late as the middle of the seventeenth century supplied the markets of England and France. At the same time the orange plantations, with numerous arable and pasture lands, were converted into apple orchards, because there was a great demand for cyder, and consequently an advance in the price. In Galicia orange plantations were appropriated to other purposes, without the intervention of the legislature; whence it follows, that laws can never so efficaciously contribute to the advancement of agriculture as private interest.

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The interference of the legislature between landlords and tenants in regulating their contracts, which should only be determined by their mutual interest, is not less prejudicial. How far do these statutes intend to go in the subject of agrarian regulation? If, sir, you attend to such counsellors, nothing will be left to the discretion of proprietors or tenants; the lease, the term, the rent, the form of tenure, all will be prescribed and regulated by the laws; and when land is put into such a state of thraldom, what must become of the proprietors and of cultivation?

Among other things, a proposal has been made to restrict and rate the price of land in favour of the tenant. Such a law, under the appearance of justice, would be pointedly injurious. It is asserted that the high price of estates is owing to the avarice of proprietors; but has the covetousness of the tenants no influence? If the spirit of rivalry and outbidding, so apparent in the latter, did not concur to advance the rent of estates, they would doubtless soon be at a lower and more equitable ratio. A farm is never let so well, nor finds so high a market, as when these two interests are combined: for as the rivalship among tenants induces the proprietors to ask a higher rent for their estates, so indifference tends to a reduction of the price: the establishment of a maximum or minimum, all contracts of whatever kind, should have had no other origin.

It must be acknowledged that the advance in the price of estates has been in many places very great, or to speak more properly, excessive; but in every instance it has been justified from the causes by which it was produced. A rent is not unreasonable, where it has gradually been fixed by the mutual consent of the contracting parties, and regulated by the principles which usually prevail in commercial concerns. It is natural in a country, where the population of the districts is great, and there are more tenants than farms to let or lease, that the proprietor should be allowed to give the law to the tenant; and on the other hand, in a country where estates are numerous, and cultivators few, that the tenant should fix the

rent of the farm. In the first case the proprietor is desirous of obtaining for his estate as high a rent as he can, and which being advanced, the tenant must content himself with less profit: in the second, the tenant will derive a greater profit, and the landlord must rest satisfied with a smaller rent. If, in the last instance, it would be considered unjust, were the law to raise the rent in favour of the proprietor: how can that be esteemed just in the opposite case, which reduces the rent to enhance the profit of the tenant?

The height of rents was intended to be restrained by continuing tenants on the estates, and a sudden equitable motive extorted in their favour a boon, which they had long solicited in vain. The royal edict of September 6th, 1785, granted them the privilege, that they should not be obliged to pay the tax for political benefits, which had been assessed on the proprietors by a decree of June 29th, in the same year. But the society cannot forbear to remark, that such a regulation would, in all cases, be unprofitable and unjust; unprofitable in a country where the tenants dictate to the landlords respecting the rent of estates, for as they could not by any means advance the price of their estates, it would be impossible to bear the weight of the new impost, and particularly unjust where the proprietor had the power of raising his rent; for if, as has been clearly proved, every kind of rent should be considered equitable and proper, fixed by the mutual consent of the contracting parties, the law which tends to deprive property of this privilege cannot be justified.

Exclusively of this, the effect of such a law could be but temporary. It is certainly true that the landholders would, after its promulgation, allow their tenants peaceable possession of their farms, without demanding a higher price during the continuance of the term; but when that was expired, and the lands were to be re-let, a higher rent would of course be demanded; which law does not and could not prevent, without manifest injustice. Landholders would, under such circumstances, raise their estates with so much more avidity, as the opportunities

opportunities of doing it were rare in occurrence; the consequence would be, in a certain time, rents would find that level which existing circumstances might produce in every province, and the laws, without having accomplished their aim, would have produced all the evils of their immediate operation. Has the privilege denominated *loyer* *, granted to the inhabitants of Madrid, produced a different result?

Upon similar principles it has been proposed to you, sir, to delay the expiration of leases for a certain time; but the society is of opinion, that such a prolongation of tenure would be as disadvantageous as it would be unjust; for though it acknowledges that long leases, speaking generally, are advantageous to agriculture, yet it is at the same time apprised that they are in some instances prejudicial to the interests of proprietors, and inconsistent with the intentions of justice. In places where the rent of land is on the decline, or where it is nearly stationary, the landholder, naturally, without the legislature dictating to him, conceives it most eligible to grant long leases; but in other parts of the country, where the value of land is increasing, he will only grant short leases for the purpose of raising his rents at their expiration. In this manner the landholders in the environs of Seville have doubled their rents in the short space of ten years, from the year 1770 to 1780. Any law to prolong the term of leases in this district would be highly unjust, because it would deprive the proprietors of this reasonable advantage.

It is proper to observe, that this increase of rent only appears to take place in those districts where estates are let for money; whence it may be inferred, this increase is either owing to the augmented population of the country, or to an

* By virtue of this privilege a person owning a house in Madrid cannot raise the rent during the whole period the tenant has possession, unless in case where a lease has been granted and expired; consequently the tenant keeps it as long as he pleases, and may leave it when most convenient to himself.

advance in the price of grain, or perhaps to both causes at once combined. On the contrary, where the rent is paid in corn, it remains nearly stationary; for, in such cases, the variation in the price of grain, being equally advantageous or disadvantageous to the landlord and tenant, can consequently produce little influence upon the value of farms. So true is it that justice can only comport with the voluntary union of reciprocal interests among the contracting parties.

Equally unjust would be the law, which has also been proposed, that all rents should be paid in corn, and even in aliquot parts of the produce. It is granted that no plan has been formed which would be better calculated to guarantee an equal interest of a farm to the proprietor and occupant, not only in some particular districts, or under certain climates; but of whatever kind the crop may be, according to the state of seasons, in profitable or unprofitable years. Still every species of constraint imposed upon property would be prejudicial, and consequently unjust. Such a kind of rent requires continual vigilance, numerous overseers, painful inspections, and accounts difficult to compare and audit; great expence to collect, preserve, and sell the grain and fruit; and indeed demands that kind of care and attention which is incompatible with the habits of most proprietors*; and in those districts where cultivation is in a high state of improvement, such a rent is difficult, and almost impossible to obtain, from the variety

* The younger Pliny has made very interesting remarks upon this subject. He observes in Lib. IX. Ep. 37 to Paulinus, "Nam priore lustro quamquam post magnas remissiones, reliqua creverunt; inde plerisque nulla jam cura minuendi æris alieni, quod desperant posse persolvi, rapiunt etiam consumuntque quod natum est, ut qui jam putent se non sibi parcere. Occurrendum ergo augescentibus vitiis et medendum est. Medendi una ratio, *si non nummo, sed partibus locem*, atque deinde ex meis, *aliquos exactores operi, custodes fructibus ponam:* et alioqui nullum justius genus redditus, quam quod terra, cœlum annus refert. At hoc magnam fidem, acres oculos, numerosas manus poscit; experiendum tamen, et, quassi in veteri morbo, quælibet mutationes auxilia tentanda sunt."

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and multiplicity of the crops. Justice, therefore, requires that the contracting parties should be at liberty to fix upon what kind of rent might be most agreeable to themselves, as the best method of uniting the joint interests of landlord and tenant. Was it not this privilege of free agency which almost time immemorial established a corn rent in Aragon, and a money rent in Andalusia, a greater portion of Castile and la Mancha?

In fine, sir, you have proposed to establish arbitrements and privileges, to prohibit under-leases, to enlarge or reduce the size of farms, and to adopt many other regulations not less opposite to the rights of property than they would infringe upon the proper freedom of culture. The society has, therefore, extended its illustrations of the simple and general principle on which it rests the merit of the case, for the purpose of refuting such plans in detail; for it can never see justice where freedom of action, the proper object for laws to guarantee, does not exist. It can never surmise that the first can be compatible with privileges decidedly inconsistent with the second. Indeed it can never be persuaded the welfare of agriculture can be promoted by systems which afford only partial protection and exclusive advantage: it can only be advanced by a just and general protection, which by being equally applied to the property of the soil, and that which is the produce of industry, would permit the interests of all concerned to have their free and unbiassed operation.

*The Mesta**.

This luminous principle would destroy the very foundations

* This is a name given to an incorporated company of proprietors of emigratory sheep, who are endued with shameful privileges, highly prejudicial to the interests of agriculture. These privileges are digested into a code: contained in a book entitled, "*Leys y ordenanzas de la Mesta;*" i. e. *The Laws and Regulations of the Mesta.*

of a rural system, the most fatal in its consequences to the aims of agriculture. For how could the enormous and shameful privileges which are granted to migratory flocks be made compatible with the practice it would tend to introduce? The society, sir, possessing that spirit of impartiality which should ever be the characteristic of men associated for the purpose of promoting the public welfare, and exempt from those prejudices which have been too apparent in such as have hitherto treated on the *Mesta*, will not attempt to defend it as the most beneficial system, nor condemn it as the most destructive of all ruinous plans: but confine its view simply to the application of the principles, already mentioned, to the subject in question. The laws and privileges of this corporation, together with every thing bearing the stamp of monopoly, or which proceeds from exclusive protection, will meet its reasonable censure; but it will not allow, on any consideration, that the increase of such kind of flocks should be regarded as beneath the attention and encouragement which the laws ought to afford to every branch of rural economy and useful department of productive industry.

It might excite surprise to see with what unremitting zeal every other nation endeavours by all possible means to increase the quantity and improve the quality of their wools, while we are only occupied in its deterioration. The English succeeded, during the reigns of Edward the Fourth, Henry the Eighth, and Elizabeth, in rendering the fleeces of their flocks exceedingly fine, by crossing their native breed with that of Castile. The Hollanders, after they had established their republic, ameliorated their wool also, by adapting to their climate, sheep, imported from their Indian settlements. Sweden, subsequent to the reign of the celebrated Christian, did the same; and, following the example, Saxony and Prussia have endeavoured to improve their wools, by importing into those cold climates rams from England, Spain, and even from Arabia. Some years since Catherine the Second, empress of all the Russias, to attain this object, granted pecuniary

niary and honorary rewards, the distribution of which is confided to the Academy of Sciences at Petersburgh. France, also, has appropriated immense sums of money for the purpose of naturalizing, in that climate, the sheep of Arabia and India; and yet we Spaniards, on the contrary, who formerly were so attentive to the subject as to cross our sheep with the English breed *, by which means we produced the finest wools in Europe, wools, the fineness of which have been the envy of the world, we only act contrary to our interest in this respect. It must be granted that the rearing of flocks only affords us the commercial advantage arising from the sale of wool, while other nations ameliorate theirs for the purpose of improving their manufactures. True it is, that they purchase our wools with more avidity than we display in the sale of them, for the purpose of returning them to us in a manufactured state; and thus taking from Spain, not only the price of the wool, but also the remuneration of their manufacturing industry. It also must be allowed, that the value of such industry, according to the calculations of Ustariz, amounts to four times that of the raw materials, and this forms

* Some wild rams having been imported from Africa to Cadiz, they were purchased by the uncle of Columella, who, as he informs us, by mixing them with his ewes, considerably improved the breed. The rams of this new breed were again crossed with the ewes of Tarentum; and the wool of the lambs united in their fleeces the fineness of staple apparent in that of the ewes, and the beauty of colour admired in the rams. The excellence of Tarentum wool, to which probably we owe the goodness of our own, is described in Varro, Lib. II. cap. 2, "Pleraque similiter facienda (he is speaking of the travels of these animals) in ovibus pellitis, quæ propter lanæ bonitatem, ut sunt Tarentinæ, et Atticæ, pellibus integuntur, ne lana inquinetur, quominus vel infici recte possit, vel lavari, et purgari."

It appears that the same system was again adopted in the reign of Alphonsus the Eleventh, *by importing in decked vessels English sheep into Spain.* See on this subject the Cento of Cibdad Real, Ep. 37. P. Sarmiento conjectured, that the fine-wooled sheep obtained from this circumstance the name of *marinas*, which was afterwards changed into *Merinos*.

the most formidable argument to persons inimical to the increase of sheep.

But the society cannot suffer itself to be misled by reasons more specious than solid. What, then, is it wrong if we are unable to manufacture our own wools, to obtain for them a portion of foreign industry; a measure to which our unskilfulness, poverty, or indolence, has obliged us to have recourse? What, when we may be able, when we may be willing and desirous to be industrious, will it be any injury to possess abundance, and a good market of commodities adapted for the exercise of that industry? What! if at some future period we should become a manufacturing people, should we not owe to the plenty and excellence of our wool an infallible preference, which would render the present trade in a certain degree precarious, and place foreign industry under our controul? How is it that the very desire of gain should so far obscure our sight as to induce us to confound good and evil!

But if it be matter of astonishment on one side, that these arguments have proved insufficient to evince the growing of wools merits the protection of the legislature; it will be still more so on the other, to find this has been made a pretext to defend and perpetuate the unjust and shameful privileges of the *Mesta*. Extremes should be equally avoided in politics and in morals. To grant exclusive privileges to one branch of industry, is to discourage every other; for it tends violently to excite the energies of private interest towards one particular object, while it draws its attention and activity from all the rest. It is freely acknowledged that the growing of wools is a very profitable branch of industry; but that of corn, upon which depends the preservation of the state, as being the subsistence of its citizens, is more essential. If privileges ought to be granted to proprietors of sheep, should not a preference be given to the owners of stationary flocks, which tend to enrich and improve the soil, and constitute a considerable stock of wealth more intimately connected with the public good?

good? But let us examine the privileges of the *Mesta* according to the rules of social economy.

The members of this corporate body have by artifice obtained of the legislature those laws, which prohibit the cultivating lands once appropriated to pasturage; and although the migratory flocks contribute less than others to fertilize the lands, and afford a smaller quantity of meat for the general consumption, yet the want of manure and the scarcity of meat, are adduced as arguments in favour of this prohibition. To these laws may be applied every thing already advanced respecting the interdiction of inclosures; both violate and injure property, not only as they obstruct the proprietors having the free management of their estates, but also as they prevent them from endeavouring to procure the greatest possible produce from their lands. The instant any proprietor wishes to break up his land, it is evident he hopes to reap more advantage from it when cultivated than in a state of pasture; and consequently those laws which restrain his liberty in this respect, are as opposite to justice as they are to the general aim of rural legislation; which can be no other than making landed property as productive as its capability will allow.

Objections equally strong lie against the privilege, annexed to possession, which is not only injurious to property, and fetters the liberty of the proprietor, but also deprives him of the right to choose his own tenants. This election is of consideration. Even if the rent remain the same, the landlord might select one tenant in preference to another, from motives of affection or friendship, of respect or gratitude; and it is so much the more requisite that the laws should permit him to indulge such sentiments, because in a state of society that line of conduct is the best which calculates its interest more by moral than physical advantage. To deprive proprietors, therefore, of the privilege of choosing their tenants, is to deprive them of the most valuable part of their property.

This privation is contrary to justice when the law prefers one sheep-owner to another; it becomes still more so, when it

it occurs between the owner of a flock and the cultivation of the soil; and it is so in the highest degree, when the owner of cattle dispossesses the proprietor or occupier of land. In the first instance it prevents an extended cultivation of corn, by subjecting the land to a less productive and less valuable crop; in the last it drives the proprietor of a farm to the sad alternative, either of rearing sheep, contrary to his inclination, or abandoning the cultivation of his own lands, and the fruits of the labour and industry which had been applied to bring it into a productive state.

The privilege of rating, in itself so unjust and contrary both to civil economy and sound policy, becomes still more so, united with the numerous other claims usurped by the *Mesta*. The law prohibiting to break up pasture land, the only pretence of which is to preserve a superabundance of pasturage, ought to view it in a contemptible light. The privilege annexed to possession tends to produce a similar effect by impeding the competition of those who might be desirous of leases; a competition which is one of the first principles in the advance of rents. What can be said for this rating, if it were not supposed to destroy an equilibrium in the only instance, where the privilege annexed to possession not taking place, estates would find their level? In fact, this rating is governed by previous-established values, and not according to those which might arise from the time and circumstances when they are let.

And what can be advanced in favour of laws which have fixed the price of grass, the same as it obtained a century ago? What other effects have they produced, but that of depreciating property, the progressive value of which should only be estimated and established according to the comparative price of other productions of the soil? Why should the price of grass remain stationary, while that of wool is variable? What! when the unforeseen changes of commerce have greatly enhanced the price of wool, is it not cruelly unjust thus to fix the price of grass and pasturage?

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The same observations will apply to the *valuations* which our laws have ever so readily granted in despite of justice. They are also very injurious to agriculture, because they oppose the commercial branch of it, obstruct the natural variation in price, and consequently the just value, which can only be obtained by the competition that should exist between the contracting parties. If the *interdicting of outbidding*, the *alenguamientos*, the *fuimientos*, the *amparos*, the *acogeils*, the *remontrances*, and many other such barbarous terms, only to be found in the dictionary of the Mesta, and which imply the means discovered to depreciate the price of pasturage, in favour of the migratory flocks; it will be difficult to say, whether we ought to be more astonished at the facility with which these absurd privileges were obtained, or at the daring tenacity by which they have been maintained for two centuries, and are still obstinately supported.

The society, sir, never can acquiesce in such principles.—Even the very existence of such a pastoral assembly, on which these privileges have been conferred, is an outrage upon all law and reason, and the one by which it subsists the most prejudicial of all. Were it not for the existence of such a *fraternity*, which combines the opulence and power of a few, against the imbecility and wretchedness of the many, and who form a body capable of resisting the representatives of the provinces and even of the whole nation, who for two centuries past have found all their zeal vainly exerted in favour of agriculturists and proprietors of stationary cattle; were it not for such a fraternity, how could privileges so unbounded and shameful be maintained? How could they dare solemnly to contend before the courts of justice, and defend actions no less subversive of your authority than prejudicial to the public good, the right which you possess of abrogating these privileges, and of thus putting an end to the depopulation of a frontier province, the diminution of stationary flocks, the neglect of cultivation in the most fertile part of the kingdom, and what is still more important, the attacks which are made upon both

public

public and individual property? Deign, sir, to reflect a moment on the foundation of the *Cabana real*, which had no other aim than to place the cattle of the whole kingdom under the protection of the laws; and uniting the mountaineers into a body, was done with the intention of securing this advantage. The inhabitants of the mountains that branch off from the Pyrenees, and extend nearly to the centre of the peninsula, who during winter are obliged to repair to the plains in quest of that pasturage and shelter for the cattle, which their snow-clad lands refuse, perceived the necessity of a strict union amongst themselves; not for the purpose of obtaining privileges, but that protection which the laws have promised to grant unto all; which the rich proprietors of the lowland flocks had begun to appropriate to their own exclusive use. Hence it is that our agricultural history presents us with two separate bodies, the mountaineers and the residents in the vale, always opposed to each other; and the laws ever protected the first with its shield, because being weakest, it stood most in need of support. This was the origin of the *Mesta*, and its peculiar privileges, about the year 1556, when a desire of participating in the same advantages induced those resident in the vale to form a coalition with their rivals, and both, by a solemn agreement, were united in one body. This unequal alliance was disastrous to the mountaineers, who daily grew weaker from that period, while those resident in the vale incessantly increased in number and riches; and it was still more fatal to the public welfare. For by combining the influence and wealth of those resident in the vales, with the number and industry of the mountaineers, it gave birth to a pastoral corporation so gigantic, that, by force of sophisms and solicitations, it contrived not only to monopolize nearly the whole herbage of the kingdom, but still further to convert the fine arable lands into open pasture: thus destroying the stationary cattle, and aiming a mortal blow at the agriculture and population of the country. The society does not think it censurable that the law should have authorised and protected this pastoral

society

society in those unhappy times, when the citizens were obliged to unite their strength to obtain that security, which they would have in vain expected from the imbecility of the laws, when the league of the weak against the powerful was only exercising the right of self-defence, and the legal sanction of that league was a just and legitimate act. But the legislature having prohibited these associations as injurious, the laws being general, partial to no individual, or particular class, why is it that any part of the state should refuse to submit to the salutary regulation? in a word, the public indignation and popular clamour having been excited against the detestable privileges of the Mesta, why is this compact of the powerful against the weak permitted?—a compact which tends to confine that protection of cattle belonging to a certain class of proprietors, which the laws should extend to the whole community.

Sufficient has been advanced, sir, and the subject is so evident, that you should not refuse to pronounce a prompt sentence of dissolution upon this powerful association, annul its abused privileges, abrogate its unjust regulations, and suppress its oppressive tribunals. Then would disappear for ever that convention of nobles and monks, turned shepherds, who traffic under the revered sanction of political magistracy. They would then cease to terrify our ruined agriculturists; and with them would also disappear the whole host of *Alcaldes*, *entregadors*, *quadrilliers*, and *achagueros**, who in the name of the convention harass and plague the farmers at all times and in every place. This would eventually produce subsistence for stationary cattle, restore liberty to agriculture, to property its just rights, and allow reason and justice to exercise their proper offices.

The present is the time to apply a remedy to the disease; and the society would violate every law of its institution if it did not inform you, sir, the healing moment is arrived, and

* Names of the judges, and other officers, which the Mesta has under its command, by virtue of its exclusive privileges.

that

that the smallest delay would be as opposite to justice, as it would be contrary to the progress of agriculture. Let the migratory flocks enjoy the same equitable protection as the laws afford to every other branch of productive industry; but let private interest at the same time have liberty to act, and in every district, in every period, and in every state of things, to embrace such objects as appear to offer the most advantage.

Then every thing would be regulated according to the principles of justice, by the influence of that utility inseparable from it. While wools sold at an advanced price, grass lands would let at a high rent; and the proprietors of flocks would find herbage without any other inducement, because it would pay better to graze than to cultivate the lands. If on the contrary cultivation offered greater advantages, the pastures would be broken up, pasturage diminished, and with it the migratory sheep and *merino* wools; but cultivation, stationary cattle, and the population of the country would increase.—This increase would repay with usury any loss arising from the former diminution; and the riches of individuals also would be accompanied by public wealth. Fear need not be entertained about the quality of the wools. Their present good staple, and the demand occasioned by the increased industry of Spain, joined with that of other countries, would secure its continuance. This view is founded simply upon the private interest of the proprietors; for in case the scarcity of pasturage should induce agriculturists to raise the price of herbage, the owners of flocks would consequently sell their wools dearer. Thus would be established between the rearing of sheep and the cultivation of the soil that equilibrium, which the public good requires, and which can be destroyed only by absurd privileges and odious laws.

There is one custom, however, which the society thinks ought to be exempted from the recommended proscription, if the name of privilege can be properly applied to an usage anterior, not only to the existence of the *Mesta*, but to that of the *Cabaña real*, and even agriculture itself; it means the usage of

of the *Cañadas*, without which the travelling cattle could not subsist. The periodical migration of those immense flocks, which is annually repeated twice, in spring and autumn, in such a vast extent of country as the distance between Leon and Estramadura, requires that the pastoral roads should be free and spacious; and the necessity for this would be greater than at present, because by the protecting system of inclosure here recommended, the whole country would be fenced in, except the high-roads, bye-roads, footpaths, and other ways for private convenience. The society is anxious to justify this custom while deciding on the question so warmly contested both by the partizans and the adversaries of the *Mesta*, from the acknowledged necessity, that the sheep should travel, to preserve the fineness of their wool. Principle, if this necessity exists, would not suffer it to authorise a privilege for any consideration of private interest, lest it should abrogate principles, rendered sacred by public utility; and the conclusion in favour of the *Cañadas*, drawn from the opinion, that the sheep ought to travel to produce fine wool, would be strictly just and proper.

As the journeyings of the flocks were indispensable for their preservation, consequently the *Cañadas* were legitimately formed; in this imperious necessity originated the migration of flocks, and to this system Spain is indebted for the fine staple of her wools, so long celebrated through Europe, and for the lucrative branch of trade arising from this article. It has been further ascertained, that the lofty mountains of Leon and the Asturias, covered with snow during the winter, would in that chilling season be incapable of affording nourishment to the number of sheep, which during summer feed upon their abundant herbage; nor on the other hand could the fertile plains of Estramadura, scorched by the sun in summer, support the numerous flocks which depasture them in winter. Were these flocks to continue only one summer in Estramadura, or one winter in the mountains of Babia, scarcely a single sheep would survive.

The variety of pasturage gave rise to the migration of cattle,

cattle, which gradually led to a system not with a view of ameliorating the fleece, but of preserving and increasing the flocks. Subsequent to the invasion of the country by the Arabs, the Spaniards retreated to those mountainous districts, where, at the present day, nearly the whole of the migrating flocks feed; there they transported all the property they had been able to save from the general wreck. Afterward, when they had nearly driven the Moors from the plains, they sent their flocks to depasture them, identifying the limits of their property with the confines of the empire. The diversity of seasons led them to make a comparison between the respective climates of each; and hence arose the combination of winter and summer feeding, and probably this circumstance directed the route of their conquest; for they marched upon Estramadura previous to their advancing on the side of Guadarrama. After this fertile province had been annexed to the kingdom of Leon, the heat and aridity of the newly conquered country was combined with the coolness and moisture of the original possessions; and thus the migration of flocks was established between Babia and Estramadura, between the inhabitants of the mountains, and of the plain and vales, long before the re-introduction of agriculture; and when a spirit of cultivation revived, it was obliged to respect the *Cañadas*, which had been formed during its slumber and inactivity.

It cannot, therefore, be surprising that the Spanish legislation, contemporaneous with the migrating system, should have protected the *Cañadas;* or, to speak more distinctly, sanctioned a custom which nature and necessity had combined to establish; and thus acted in conformity with the practice of the most enlightened nations. The laws of Rome, where the migration of cattle was customary, equally protected *Cañadas*. Cicero observes, this public servitude in Italy went under the denomination of *calles pastorum* *. Varro, also, reports, that in his time the sheep of Pouilla travelled in the summer sea-

* "Pro Sextio, Italicæ calles, atque pastorum stabula."

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son, even as far as Samnium, an immense distance, for the purpose of depasturing the mountains of that country *. He also mentions the migration of horses, and assures us that his own flocks were sent every summer to feed upon the mountains of Reux. Thus it appears in almost every country private interest has known how to derive advantage from the diversity of seasons and climates; and the laws, by protecting such conduct, have erected upon this combination the wealth of the state.

But although other nations have been acquainted with migratory flocks, and protected *Cañadas* by their laws, yet none ever formed, and took under its immediate protection, an association of shepherds, assembled under the authority of public magistrates, to commit hostilities against cultivation and stationary cattle, and to annihilate both by exclusive rights and enormous privileges; none has authorised a prerogative of doubtful origin, pernicious in its tendency, oppressive in its exercise, and injurious to the rights of property; none has established in favour of the system, itinerant courts, which, armed with overwhelming power, appear every where crushing the impotent with all their force, but never taking cognisance of the crimes committed by the rich; none has ever legitimated such an assembly, sanctioned its regulations, and allowed its representatives to oppose the defenders of the people's rights; none——but enough has been already said. The society has pointed out the evil; it remains for you, sir, to apply the remedy.

Mortmain Tenures.

Another evil still more inveterate, and more fatal to the interests of agriculture, solicits your immediate attention. There would not appear that eagerness of becoming members of the *Mesta*, if the laws, while they encouraged the increase

* Lib. II. cap. 2.

of the flocks belonging to a small number of corporations and wealthy individuals, did not at the same time favour the accumulation of wealth in that association, by continually alienating private interest from cultivating the soil, rearing stationary cattle, and turning the capital and interest, which might animate and invigorate them, to less important objects. The society, convinced from the clear principles by which it has been directed in its course, will point out the consequences of this fatal partiality with which the laws of Spain have regarded property.

It is impossible equitably to encourage individual interest, and grant it permission to acquire landed property *, without favouring

* The primary object of all agrarian laws enacted, or proposed among the Romans, was to prevent this accumulation, and to preserve a partial equality. Romulus assigned an *ingera*, two arpents, about an acre and three quarters of land, to every citizen, Varro I. 10. After the expulsion of the kings, the allowable quantity was extended to seven arpents, about six acres. Curius Dentatus would not have a larger quantity; constantly giving a refusal when the people wished to confer fifty upon him, as the reward of his distinguished victories. Yet, subsequently, monopoly of land made a rapid progress. In the year of Rome 385, Licinius Stolo endeavoured to restrain it, by assigning to every citizen seven arpents of land from the republic, and ordaining by law that no one should possess property to a greater extent than five hundred arpents, or about 423 English acres of land. But so inveterate and far-spread was the evil, that *Stolo* himself was condemned by this very law for having granted to his son five hundred arpents, while he retained an equal number. Long after this period the attempts to put this law in execution occasioned those lamentable seditions and insurrections in which the Graechi fell; and when, for the first time, Rome embrued her hands in the blood of her own citizens. The conquests and the proscriptions of Sylla, together with his extravagant folly, increased the evil, and placed it beyond the reach of remedy. Unavailing was all the zeal of the tribune Servilius Rullus to put in force the agrarian law: Cicero, then consul, declared himself its antagonist; (read his discourses upon agrarian law) although among other admissions he acknowledged, that scarcely two thousand proprietors could be found in Rome, notwithstanding the population of the city amounted to two hundred thousand. "Non esse in civitate duo millia hominum qui rem haberent." De Officiis, Lib. II. 21.

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favouring the accumulation of riches in the hands of a small number, and legalizing the consequent inequality of fortune, which is the teeming source of the crimes and the miseries which trouble and infest society.

In this view of the subject it cannot be denied, that the augmentation of wealth is a real evil; but further than it is a necessary evil, it will find in itself an effectual remedy. When all aspired after riches, the natural vicissitudes of time and circumstances would occasion them to pass rapidly from one hand to another; consequently the same persons would not be able to accumulate a very large portion, nor retain that portion for a great length of time; the same influence which inspired this aim in all would encourage some, and become an obstacle to others; and if the natural progress of accumulating wealth did not place all upon the same level, riches, at least, would become the reward of industry, and an object of regret to indolence and inactivity.

And further, upon the hypothesis of an equality of rights, inequality in fortune would produce the most beneficial effects. It is this equality of rights which places the different classes of society in a reciprocal state of dependence upon each other, which forms between them a firm bond of union arising from natural interest; and which often substitutes those in narrow circumstances in the place of the more considerable and wealthy. Indeed it is the motive which

The testimony of Pliny has been already quoted, and he further observes, that all the lands of Africa in the time of Nero were, exclusively, in the hands of a very few proprietors; and Ammianus Marcellinus induces us to infer, that this abuse continued to increase till the close of the fourth century. Such was the state of Rome when the city was taken by Alaric, Gibbon, vol. v. ch. 31. What conclusion follows, but that in the progress of the human mind towards perfection, it is easier to draw off society from a primitive good, than to reconcile a chimerical equality of fortune with the establishment of property? Since, therefore, the accumulation of it in the same hands, though an evil, is a natural result, what should be the aim of the legislature to increase the inconvenience, or attempt to reduce it to a *minimum*?

rouses and encourages individual interest, by communicating to it much more activity, by the consideration that all having equal duties, each may hope to attain the object of his ambition.

The laws would not then have sought in vain to accomplish the end, which the investigations of this society have had in view, and all its reflections made upon those things, which have operated as drawbacks upon commerce, and the circulation of landed property; which have entailed the lands in perpetual succession upon certain families and corporations, for ever excluding other citizens from the slightest hope of becoming sharers, granted indefinite permission to increase such lands, and at the same time absolutely prohibited their diminution; and thus constituted an endless monopoly, an increasing abyss, which ere long, if continued, will ingulph the wealth of the kingdom *. Such are the effects produced by the laws which favour mort-main.

What astonishing things could this society say if it attempted to describe all the effects produced by these laws,

* An excellent work, "*On the Rights of the Crown over Property in Mort-main*," published in 1765, by our learned colleague the Count de Campomanes, spares us the trouble of making quotations on this subject. He proves by numerous arguments and authorities, the justice of the law he proposes, by demonstrating, from a multitude of witnesses, who have seen to what monstrous excess the accumulation of landed property in mort-main tenure hath been carried in Spain; yet to corroborate this necessity, we will copy here the remarkable expressions by which the counsellor of Galicia commences his plea (in the question of majorats or primogenitures) printed at Madrid, and entitled "Natural Reason in favour of Galicia." Nearly the whole land of Galicia," he observes, speaking direct to the point, "hath been alienated from the crown, and appropriated to corporations, monasteries, churches, and fraternities; and the remainder apportioned out among many dukes, earls, marquises and nobles belonging to this or other provinces." This evil is so much the more to be lamented because it exists in a province which includes a tenth part of the whole population in Spain: and a judgment may be formed from this, of all the rest.

and

and all the relations they bear to social order! But the end proposed in this memoir necessarily confines its views and reflections to the injuries they do to agriculture.

The greatest of all is the advancing the value of landed property. Lands, like other commercial articles, vary in price as they are scarce or plenty; they become dear when the quantity in the market is small, and cheap when it is great. Thus among the mass of articles, which circulate in commerce, land will form, in all cases, the first principle of their value, and will itself be highest, as in general this kind of property is preferred to all others.

The price of lands in Spain is exorbitant, owing to the small quantity that is to be purchased; and this scarcity of disposable estates principally arises from the immense quantity of lands in a state of mort-main: this is a fact so clear, that it does not require proof. The evil is acknowledged: it remains only to shew its disastrous effects upon agriculture, that you, sir, may remove them.

What these effects are may easily be known by simply comparing the advantages which arise from a facility in acquiring landed property; and the disadvantages resulting from purchasing with difficulty. If a comparison be made respecting the agriculture of different districts, or countries, where the price of land is low, moderate, or very high, there will need no other proof of the assertion.

The United States of America are an instance of the first case*; consequently the capital of the rich is there, from pre-

* In a foreign journal of 1792, in which is given an account of agricultural improvements in the United States, it is stated, that from the month of August 1789, to September 1790, the Americans exported 906,156 barrels, or barques, of flour and biscuit; 1,128,458 bushels of wheat; 21,766 of barley; 2,102,137 Indian corn; 98,842 of oats; 1562 of Barbary corn; 38,752 of common and French beans; 5318 hogsheads of potatoes; 100,845 bags of rice; 118,460 of tobacco, besides two millions bushels of corn used in the distilleries, and yet the population of that republic did not then exceed 4,000,000 of inhabitants.

ference, employed in cultivation. A part is appropriated to the purchase of the land, another to stock, inclose, and plant it; and another in establishing a culture best calculated to render it productive. The result has been, agriculture in that country has made such an amazing progress, that it would have been incredible, had it not been demonstrated by the population having been doubled in the course of a few years, and the immense quantities of grain and flour it has exported to other countries *.

But, exclusive of this extraordinary low price, the consequence of accidental and unstable circumstances, wherever a free circulation of landed property exists, which tends to fix the price of land; agriculture must prosper.

The consideration inseparable from great landed property, the state of dependence in which all other kind of proprietors comparatively are, the security of such property, the ease with which its produce is enjoyed, and the facility of transmitting it to posterity, will ever render it the primary object of human ambition. The wishes and the savings of all tend toward this point, and when laws do not oppose the natural impulse, it becomes a most powerful encouragement of cultivation. England, where the price of land is not low, but moderate, and where notwithstanding agriculture flourishes; affords an example in proof of this assertion.

But this tendency has natural limits in the dearness of lands; for a diminution of produce being the consequence of such dearness, their acquisition will become less an object of anxious desire. When the capital employed on estates produces a large interest, the purchase of lands will be a good speculation: and thus in North America, when they bring in a moderate revenue, it is still as wise and certain a speculation

* The low price of land naturally operates upon that of its productions, and gives an activity to commerce, which conveys them in such cases to the most distant countries. If it were not so, how could rice brought from Philadelphia be sold cheaper at Constantinople than what is exported from Italy or Egypt?

as it is in England: indeed, when the return is at the lowest possible minimum, either persons do not purchase lands, or, if they do, it can only be from a motive of pride or vanity, which is, at present, precisely the case in Spain.

If it is desirable to know what effects are likely to result from such a state of things it must immediately be seen, that capital diverted from estates will be employed in rearing cattle, in trade, manufactures, or some other lucrative concern. 2. No person would sell his estate but from necessity, not having any probability of acquiring another. 3. None would buy unless to secure a part of his fortune, having no other motive to induce him to purchase, than that what costs much will return but little. 4. Purchasers, who did not aim to enrich themselves by becoming proprietors, would not improve the estates they have acquired, for the dearer they bought, the less money they would have remaining for the amelioration of the soil: besides they would rather purchase more lands than improve what they already possessed. 5. After the desire of accumulating large domains, follows that of rendering them unalienable; for nothing approximates so near the wish of securing property, as that of entailing it to posterity. 6. With the opulence of mortmain corporations, and families, increases the quantity of lands in mortmain; for the first acquire more as their means of acquiring multiply; and unable ever to alienate what they once purchased, the progression of their wealth must be indefinite. 7. Mortmain must, at length, cease by purchasing all saleable estates, both large and small: of the first, because none but such opulent families and corporations can purchase in those cases, and of the second, because the number of those able to purchase, being considerable, renders the price enormous. Such are the causes which have placed in a few hands the greater part of the estates in Spain.

Under such circumstances, what must be the state of agriculture? The first bad consequence resulting from this system, is the forming a tenure separate from property, for it

is impossible such great proprietors should cultivate their estates; and, if it were, they would not be disposed; and even if they did cultivate them, it would be but a very unproductive culture. If, from necessity or caprice, such persons were induced to engage in the cultivation of part of their domains; in those instances an immense but feeble and ill-conducted culture would be the consequence; examples of which fact are furnished by several very large farms, and olive-plantations, in Andalusia. These are cultivated by lords or conventual bodies, who prefer pleasure to profit, like those opulent Romans whom Columella justly reproached, when he charged them with substituting for arable and useful fields, pastures for rearing fine horses, ornamental plantations, pleasure-gardens and fish-ponds, artificial fountains and cascades; in a word, all the extravagancies of rural luxury, to the labours of useful husbandry.

When proprietors give themselves up to indolence, and live upon the rent of their estates, all their industry and attention will be turned to the advancement of their rentals, and these they will raise, as the case has been among us, to the highest possible rate. In such a state of things agriculture presents no alluring advantages, capital is taken not only from property, but from the cultivation of the lands, which are committed into feeble and indigent hands, who still become poorer and more impotent; for it is clearly demonstrable, that land is only rendered productive by the advantages afforded to the cultivator: what then can a farmer expect to do who possesses no other implement or strength for agricultural operations than his spade and his own arm? In a word, even rich proprietors themselves, instead of employing their capitals to the amelioration and improvement of their lands, devote it to other objects, as is the case of so many great lords and conventual societies who possess immense flocks, while they suffer the vast domains to remain uninclosed, without husbandmen, and destitute of all the means requisite for profitable culture.

These, sir, are not the exaggerated assertions of a misguided

guided zeal for the public welfare; they are grievous realities, of which you will be instantly convinced by only casting a coup d'oeil over the state of our provinces. Is there one in which the greater and best portion of the land is not under mortmain tenure; where the price of estates is not so great that the tenant scarcely can derive a profit of one and a half per cent.; where the rent of land is not advanced to a scandalous height; where estates are not uninclosed, uninhabited, devoid of wood, deprived of the benefits of irrigation, and every means of amelioration; where culture is not left to ignorant and indigent farmers; where, in a word, money refused to agriculture, has not been employed in other undertakings?

Some provinces, doubtless, may be mentioned, where, from the fertility of the soil, the mildness of the climate, the facility of irrigation, and the unwearied assiduity of the inhabitants, agriculture has flourished, notwithstanding the powerful and pernicious influence of this desolating system; but these very provinces afford the most irrefragable demonstration of the fatal consequences resulting from mortmain tenure. Take, for example, Castile, which still preserves its ancient denomination, the granary of Spain.

This province was formerly the focus of our national trade and wealth. When the Moors, possessed of Granada, injured the navigation and trade on the coasts of Andalusia, and harassed those belonging to the Aragonese; the navigation of the Castilians, which extended along the northern coast from the frontiers of France to those of Portugal, diverted the commercial energies and intercourse towards the interior of Castile, and the cities of this province were speedily filled with factories and counting-houses. The recapture of Granada, the union of Castile and Aragon, and the discovery of America, prodigiously extended the commercial relations of Spain; national wealth and prosperity rapidly increased, and money, till then confined to the markets of Castile, expanded its influence through remote countries, diffusing every where

affluence

affluence and ease. Every thing then tended rapidly to advance, except agriculture; at least the progress of this was not equal to that of the arts, of trade, commerce, and navigation, which took a soaring flight. But while the wealth and population of the cities were thus rapidly increasing to an astonishing height, the depopulation of the villages and the neglect of cultivation quickly discovered, how unstable were the foundations of this ephemeral prosperity.

The cause of this singular phenomenon may be traced to the system of mortmain. Nearly the whole landed property of Castile at that period belonged either to the church or other religious foundations, whose wealth, at the commencement small, had been augmented beyond all reasonable proportion: in Castile the most ancient and most powerful *majorats*, or primogenitures, were formed with the estates of *rich men* (the great of that time). Greater part of the grants of king Henry, *gracias Henriqueñas*, proceeded from Castile, and were entailed in perpetuity by the very laws which ought to have guarded them by restrictive limits. Perpetual entails were as frequent at that time as they were considerable in Castile; because they afforded a facility of conveying property to the prejudice of the younger branches of families in favour of the elder; and the cruel law, denominated *foro*, which authorised an unequal partition of property among children, was most injurious in those instances, where there existed the most wealth. The very opulence of Castile opened a wide door for the admission of mortmain, by the establishment of new monasteries, colleges, hospitals, fraternities, advowsons, vicarial endowments, masses, anniversaries, and a variety of other channels, through which flowed into the treasury of mortmain the wealth of the dying, who evinced the most lavish prodigality, influenced by the impulse of piety, the advice of superstition, or remorse of conscience for prior avidity. How then is it possible sufficient land should remain in this province free from the galling yoke of mortmain, to afford opportunities for employing its wealth and industry? And how can they em-

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ploy their capital for the advancement and encourgement of agriculture, who adopt so many different methods of burying their property in the treasuries of indolence?

The glory of Castile was at length eclipsed. Commerce, which first visited the parts of the east and the south, at length took up her residence at Seville, attracted to her the wealth of Castile, ruined its manufactures, depopulated * villages, and heaped desolation and misery upon the whole country. Had this province, at the epoch of its prosperity, established a flourishing and improving culture, that would have continued the reign of plenty, plenty would have nursed industry, industry would have supported commerce, and, notwithstanding the removal of the ports, riches would have continued to flow, at least for a long time, through their accustomed channels. But agriculture once destroyed, every thing in Castile fell with the frail foundations of its precarious prosperity. What vestiges of its former splendour remain, save the skeletons of its numerous cities and towns, once well peopled, filled with manufacturers and factories, warehouses and shops, where at present nothing is visible but churches, convents, and hospitals, that have survived the devastations of which they had been the superinducing cause?

If the commerce and industry of other provinces gained by the revolution, which caused the loss to Castile, their agriculture, contaminated with the same infection, has shared a

* An idea may be formed of the progress made in depopulation from the observations of Manriqua, quoted by Campomanes, that in the fifty preceding years the monasteries had been trebled, numerous families had emigrated, the priests had increased, and the number of monks and nuns were multiplied. Manriqua stated the diminution of the population at seven times its original number; and briefly observes the city of Burgos, which contained 7000 families, had no more than 300. The 5000 in Leon were reduced to 500, and many villages were completely deserted. He adds that there only remained Valladolid, which was supported by the chancery; Salamanca by its university; and Segovia by its manufacture of cloth. Manriqua wrote in the year 1624; and from that period, to the end of the seventeenth century, population continued to decrease.

similar

similar fate. Suffice to cite as an example, the lands in Andalusia, the centre of American commerce, for the space of two centuries. Can there be found in that province a single rural establishment which indicates the employment of capital in agricultural improvement? Not an acre of cleared land, not a canal for the purpose of navigation or irrigation, not any kind of machine, no species of amelioration, nor a single monument that tends to shew where wealth exerts its energies or influence in favour of cultivation. Such a spirit of enterprise is only discoverable in countries where property has a free circulation, where it holds out advantages to the occupier, where it passes from the hands of the poor and incapacitated to the rich and industrious cultivators; and not in those where estates are unalienably attached to families ruined by luxury, or to perpetual corporations, which, from the very permanency of their nature, are repugnant to a spirit of activity, and by their oppressive weight, crush down all profitable industry.

This wretched state of agriculture cannot be attributed to the climate in any of our provinces. Cultivation in Betica, under the Romans, was in the most flourishing state. This fact is attested by Columella, the principal writer on rural economy among the Latins, and who was himself a native of this country. It did not decline under the Arabic dynasty, notwithstanding the government was despotic; but in those periods mortmain tenures were unknown, and the numerous other trammels, which in the present period put restraint upon property and obstruct the freedom of cultivation. Ever since the re-conquest of these provinces by the Spaniards, instead of agriculture advancing it has been on the decline: the raising of oil and wheat has considerably diminished; the sale of figs and silk, in which the Mahometans carried on such an extensive and profitable trade, is nearly reduced to nothing. But why say more: the system of irrigation, practised so successfully in Granada, Murcia, Valencia, the only parts where its beneficial effects are at present experienced, was it not introduced and established by the industry of the Moors?

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Let then the infamous bonds which enslave the spirit of culture instantly be burst asunder. The society is perfectly aware with what caution and respect it should give its opinion upon the subject of mortmain. The inalienability of estates belonging to ecclesiastical and civil corporations are connected with motives so revered, and views so respectable, that it would be unpardonable not to take them into consideration; but having been solicited by you to discover and propose the best means of reviving the spirit of agriculture, the society could not betray your confidence, from a mistaken regard for absurd prejudices, by not making the proper application of its principles.

Ecclesiastical Estates in Mortmain.

Ecclesiastical mortmain is no less contrary to the principles of Castilian legislation than it is to political economy. It was a venerable maxim of antiquity among us, that neither churches nor convents should possess any estates as their own; and in the spirit of this maxim the acquisition of such kind of property was prohibited by a fundamental statute. This law solemnly promulgated in the kingdom of Leon by the *cortez* * of Beneventa, and in that of Castile by those of Noxara, extended its influence to Toledo, Jaen, Cordova, Murcia, and Seville, by virtue of privileges granted for the purpose of repeopling the cities, after they were retaken from the enemy. Not a single code of Castile but what sanctions this law; witness the primitive *fueros* (rights) of Leon and Sepulveda, those of the fidalguos, or *fuero viejo,* of Castile, the decree of Alcala, and even the *fuero* royal, although contemporaneous with the *partidas,* which, instead of adopting and sanctioning this

* These were the ancient provincial *parliaments,* which possessed more extensive privileges than the national representation of England; but their power has long been abolished; and though they have occasionally sate, yet their deliberations have been under the monarch's controul, and their decisions over-ruled by royal prerogative.—T.

maxim,

maxim, and numerous others respecting the rights and discipline of the Spanish church, they strictly copied the decisions of the transmontane institutes digested by Gratian *. The different municipal codes respectively promulgated this prohibition in their several circles: among others those of Alarcon, Consuegra, Cuença, Cacera, Badajoz, Baeza, Carmona, Sahagun, Zamora, and many more, which were almost wholly approved and confirmed by Ferdinand the Pious, or the enlightened policy of his son and successor.

Covetousness at length removed this barrier which policy had set up, not from any dislike to the church, but in favour of the state; not to prevent the clergy being enriched, but to prevent the people from impoverishing themselves by profuse donations and lavish bequests. From the tenth to the fourteenth century, both the kings and parliaments earnestly endeavoured to preserve this fence against the encroachments of blind devotion; yet, after that period, in the subsequent and violent commotions which convulsed the state, this protecting barrier was removed. The government, however, in the midst of imbecility, made repeated efforts for its re-establishment. King John the Second taxed possessions in mortmain at a fifth part of their value, exclusive of the *alcalvala*. The cortez of Valladolid, in the year 1345, of Guadalaxara in 1390, of Valladolid in 1513, of Toledo in 1522, of Seville in 1532, solicited and obtained a decree prohibiting mortmain corporations from making any new purchases of land; but this decree was never executed. At length the cortez of Madrid, in the year 1534, attempted strongly to arrest the progress of this evil; but what bulwark or barrier could be sufficient to oppose the efforts of avidity and devotion, supported by the strong arm of popular prejudice?

* A monk of Bononia, who first collected and arranged the papal decrees in one volume, about the year 1189.—T.

Monks.

Were the origin of the possessions belonging to monasteries traced, it would be discovered that these acquisitions were principally the patrimony of the nobility rather than the clergy, and that they rather belonged to the state than the church; for the greater part of the ancient convents were built and endowed for the purpose of forming asyla for the younger branches of certain families, whose property after they consequently were *. At a period when the nobility were acquainted with no exercise but that of arms, no other wealth but the spoils of the enemy, and the rewards of martial deeds; such members of noble families as were incapable of undergoing the fatigues of warfare were doomed to a life of celibacy and poverty; and by a necessary consequence the daughters likewise of persons in high rank partook of a similar destiny. For the support of these political victims a number of double convents were established, called *duplices;* because they were appropriated to both sexes, and *hereditè,* because they were the hereditable property of families who not only could convey them by descent, but also divide, exchange, sell, or transfer them by will or agreement. These recluse were more the creatures of want than of vocation, and their habitations rather the refuges of indigence than asyla of devotion. At length, through the laxity of discipline, they gradually disappeared, and both they and

* Father Prudence de Sandoval, and the historians Jepes and Manriqua, have expatiated much upon convents, the number of which would appear incredible, were it not attested by the most authentic documents. Father Sota made an enumeration of those in Cantabria; (Princes of Asturias and Cantabria, lib. iii.) and Father Carballo of those in the Asturias (part ii. chap. 13, sect. 14.). The estimate that more than four hundred have been incorporated in the churches and monasteries of Galicia will not appear an exaggerated calculation, when the following numbers are included; in Samos eighteen, St. Martin de Compostella thirty-five, and Celanova more than forty. Read the counsellor, before quoted, in his treatise in favour of Galicia.

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their property merged in the church, and other free convents, in which the severity of discipline was a continual satire upon the vices of such establishments.

Thus were free monasteries enriched perpetually, at the same time that the corruption and ignorance of the clergy turned in favour of the monks the confidence and reverence of the people. This was the rise and progress of their great wealth in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. At the same time that the prevalent laxity of morals among the clergy multiplied the number of convents, the vices of the proprietary monks gave rise to the mendicant orders, who increasing, becoming proprietary, and equally immoral in their turn, occasioned the necessity of continual reformations. The consequence of such a multitude of religious orders, and the enormous multiplication of monasteries, of proprietary monks, and others subsisting upon alms, has been the robbing of the industrious classes in society of subsistence and support.

God forbid that the society should take up its pen to vilify institutions, whose sanctity it venerates, and which have rendered very essential service to the church in most disastrous times. But having been called to point out in detail the evils which injure the cause of agriculture, could it conceal these facts, acknowleged by numbers of the most pious persons? Can it pretend to be unapprised that the monks of the present day are neither so ignorant nor so corrupted as those in barbarous times; that their instruction, zeal, and charity is highly commendable; and that nothing would be more unjust than to suppose there exist none, in so great a number, capable of properly discharging the functions confided to their trust? Let the ecclesiastical authority prescribe the form, number, and grants of monasteries, while, far from intending the smallest disrespect for the rights of the church, the society, sir, cannot but observe the influence which, in the capacity of proprietors in mortmain, they must have upon the agricultural interest.

Secular

Secular Clergy.

The possessions of the clergy proceeding from a more useful and legitimate principle, in their consequences became prejudicial to the interests of agriculture. The greater portion of these owe their origin to the foundation of particular churches, which, like the convents already described, were the property and heritage of the families by whom they were erected; of which some vestiges remain in the multitude of ecclesiastical benefices, become secular property in our northern provinces, particularly in the *prestamerias* of Biscay. These possessions were a kind of oblations offered upon the altars of God for the support of the church, and the maintenance of its ministers. The state, by thus providing for the support of the clergy, afforded them the means of devoting their whole time and attention to the sacred function, and its duties, the instruction and consolation of their flock: and this is the reason and ground upon which the laws, while they forbad the church the right of acquiring landed property, guaranteed to them the full enjoyment of their *dotal* or donative possessions.

In the course of time the constitution of the state having assumed more stability, and the clergy formally become one of the orders in the hierarchy, they preferred a juster claim of acquiring property. Like the nobility, they contributed to the defence of the people during the time of war, and assisted in the legislation of the *cortez* in time of peace; they therefore assumed a right to partake of the advantages which were the reward of such services, and which might place them in a state that would enable them to render similar assistance in future. This is the reason why, as the laws did not allow them to acquire property by purchase or testamentary bequests, the monarchs after the conquest, bestowed upon many of the clergy, towns, seats, manors, rents, &c. to reward their past services, and appreciate their merits by distinguished favours.

But when neglect in the execution of the ancient laws had opened a door by which ecclesiastics might receive landed property, how eager was the piety of the faithful to heap upon them accumulated donations! What a number of advowsons, vicarages, anniversaries, and other pious establishments, have been granted and formed since, the laws of Toro, authorising indefinite entail, afforded an opportunity to testators of expiating their crimes, by enabling them to alienate their lands in mortmain! Perhaps the mass of wealth with which the church has been enriched by these infamous means, surpasses even the lands it has acquired in a more honourable way; and the loss the state has sustained by this new scheme of rendering lands unalienable, is still more extensive and irreparable.

It is not incumbent upon the society to inquire whether this kind of imaginary titles, which nourish in the church ministers destitute of functionary employments, and consequently unknown under ancient ecclesiastical regulation, have not been more prejudicial than useful even to the clergy themselves, by augmenting beyond reason the number of priests *, without any relief to them as it respects parochial duties. The society is far from wishing to deprive the piety of the dying of that consolation they may derive from the prayers and encouragements of fervour and devotion; and it remarks the inconveniences which would accrue to the church and the monarch, its natural defender, by doing them entirely away. But can it be viewed as a mark of improper zeal to propose a middle course, which would be reconcilable with the respect due to a custom sanctioned by piety, and that regard which should be paid to

* The census taken in Spain in the year 1787, estimates the number of vicars and parochial curates at 22,460, and the remaining clergy at 47,710. Supposing that half the number 23,692, of *beneficed* clergy which are in the kingdom may reside, and perform some part of ecclesiastical duty (a supposition too exaggerated, because the class of beneficed persons comprises those who have sinecure benefices, *prestamerias*, and endowed vicarages); then the number of clergymen occupied in their functions would amount to 34,360, and those unemployed to 35,844.

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the safety and preservation of the state? The plan would be this, while the right of leaving legacies was maintained, bequeathing estates should be prohibited; and those already alienated in favour of pious foundations should be sold by the testamentary executors within a given period; and that they might not appropriate more than the produce of such sales, the money should be lodged in the public funds. This plan would remedy every inconvenience, re-invigorate the ancient laws, quicken the circulation without injuring property, and sweep away the tenures in mortmain, which extract so greedily the fecundating juices of landed possessions.

Why also should not other avenues, at present open, be stopped to various ecclesiastical corporations, for the acquisition of property? Since the Spanish clergy, distant from the contention and tumult of public assemblies, confine themselves peaceably to pursue the duties of their ministry, since they have been enriched with a prodigality of munificence, unexampled in any other catholic country, since exempt from two offices, as expensive as they are honourable, they have cast all other burthens on the people; what reason, what human motive on earth, can be found to justify this obstinate refusal, to stop those channels, through which all the remaining property of individual proprietors in the kingdom is fast running into mortmain?

This tenacity, perhaps, is not so universal as is generally supposed. Probably it does not exist, but in the bosom of a small portion of the clergy, and those the slaves of unfortunate prejudices; at the least the society wishes to believe this is the case, convinced that in every age, many wise and pious ecclesiastics have disapproved, of their order possessing excessive wealth, and obtaining improper acquisitions. And what? At a period when so many learned and zealous prelates, following the steps of the ancient fathers, have been endeavouring incessantly to establish in its purity the ancient discipline of the church; when so many pious preachers exhibit examples of that moderation and charity so frequent in the primitive ages;

when so many religious persons edify us by a spirit of liberality, of poverty, and self-denial; what, shall we not express the same wishes as those formerly expressed by the Marquez's, the Manriqua's, the Navareta's, the Ribera's, and so many other respectable preachers? The society, sir, impressed with veneration for both the learning and virtues of our clergy, far from thinking they would oppose the proposed law, believes, on the contrary, that if his majesty were to command the prelates to encourage the alienation of church-lands, that they might revert again to the people; whether by their sale and purchasing with the price a perpetual rental, or of buying state paper, or granting perpetual leases with right of redemption; most of the members of this order would readily volunteer their services to benefit their country with the same zeal on this, as they have manifested on other occasions, in circumstances of danger and difficulty.

This mark of mutual confidence would do equal honour to our pious and catholic sovereign, and to his enlightened and disinterested clergy, and would provide a more effectual remedy for the evils of mortmain, than all the plans which policy could possibly devise or adopt: when the intention of our ancient institutions is taken into consideration, it is indisputable, that the clergy have a just and legitimate claim to the property they possess, because they enjoy it under the protection of the laws, and any attempt to deprive them of such a right would be both arbitrary and unjust; but the clergy know better than we do how much the care and anxiety, naturally attendant on this property, embarrasses its ministers, and how easily it may become a support and encouragement for covetousness, and a source of temptations to the ignorant and weak. They are well apprised also, that these estates coming into the hands of industrious people, national wealth would increase, and consequently with it their own, as it consists in the receipt of the tythe and rent of glebe; while, in another view of the subject, there would be much fewer poor and indigent, for whose support the clergy are at present bound to provide. It

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is then right to expect from their generosity an honourable abdication, which would be rewarded by the veneration and gratitude of the people, rather than through tardiness to experience the loss of their property by violent measures, and themselves become despicable in their own sight, and that of the world, by their unpatriotic obstinacy.

But admitting this expectation were vain, and the clergy should continue obstinately to resist the alienation of their territorial property (which the society is not certain may be the case), the prohibition of acquiring more is indispensable: and it will, therefore, conclude this article by calling to your recollection the memorable expressions of a discourse pronounced twenty-eight years ago by the enlightened magistrate, who then requested that mortmain corporations should not be allowed to make any further acquisitions, and who continued to evince the same zeal in obtaining the enactment of the agrarian law. "The public, *he observes*, is now well convinced that the prerogative of the crown can prove contradictions. The remedy is so urgent, that it appears infamous to defer the application; the whole kingdom has demanded it for centuries, and expects from the wisdom of the magistrates the enacting a law, which will preserve property in the hands of the people, and prevent the ruin of the state menaced with destruction by the devastating consequences of mortmain acquisitions."

Right of Promigeniture, or Majorats.

The necessity of such a law is still more evident, when the mortmain tenures in the hands of the laity are considered, for the progress becomes more rapid, in proportion as the number of lay families is so much larger than mortmain corporations; and that the tendency to amass wealth is greater in the former than the latter. The desire of accumulating property naturally enters into the plans of family establishments, because riches are the principal support of their splendour and consequence; while the clergy have other methods of obtaining re-

spect and consideration, and only accidentally rely upon wealth, possessing more certain sources of celebrity: for they derive their chief glory from their zeal and modesty, qualities independent, or rather the reverse of riches. If any proof be wanting to demonstrate the truth of the position, it is only to compare the mass of unalienable property, possessed by different great families, with the quantity belonging to ecclesiastical bodies, and the balance will instantly be discovered in favour of the former, notwithstanding that *majorats* were not introduced in Spain till centuries after the clergy had begun to make territorial acquisitions.

This term *majorats* comprizes all the difficulties on the subject under consideration, and it is painful to discover an institution totally repugnant to every principle of enlightened policy and sound legislation; in the mean while there is none that merits more attention in the opinion of the society. Could it lead you, sir, to see it in a proper point of view, and compare the attention due to it, with the principal object of this memoir, you would instantly perceive the interest which agriculture has in the subject.

It must allow that the right of a person transmitting his property is founded in the order of nature. The sovereign Creator, who provided for the subsistence of the infant, in parental affection, the support of the aged parents in filial gratitude, and that of the able-bodied man, by the necessity of labour, stimulated by attachment to life; was careful to withdraw his care and anxiety from posterity, by proposing to his view a higher aim after death, the hope of eternal life. This accounts for man in a state of nature, possessing such a very imperfect idea of property; and would to heaven he had never obtained a much more extensive view!

Men in society, desirous of securing their natural rights, turned their attention to the regulation, and settling property, which they considered as the principal object, because the nearest connected with their own existence. Immediately to render it stable, they made it independent of occupation; this

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gave rise to possessions, which in the issue became transmissible after death by will, or succession. Without possessing these rights how would property have been desirable, or improved, continually exposed to the attacks of violence, and the chicanery of malicious craft?

The ancient legislators gave an extensive latitude to this faculty of conveying property after death. Solon perpetuated it in his laws, and the Decemviri in those of the twelve tables. Those laws, although they allowed children to inherit after the demise of their parents without will, did not limit the power of the testator; under the persuasion, that in case of good children, there would be no necessity, and that no favour should be shown in the case of bad ones. While Rome continued virtuous this liberty remained, but when depravity began to enfeeble the sentiments of nature, and to relax its bonds, men began to fix bounds to this privilege, till then of unlimited extent. Children became indebted to the laws for what they might have vainly expected from virtue; and that which was considered as the restraint of corruption, became one of the most powerful means of encouraging vice.

Yet how widely has our legislature differed from the practice of the ancients? Neither the Greeks, Romans, nor any of the ancient legislators, had extended the right of bequest beyond the immediate heir; and in fact, to extend it further, instead of securing, would be to annihilate property; for to give a citizen the power of disposing of his property, for ever, is exactly the same thing as depriving of their right, all the proprietors who may in future succeed him.

Yet the vulgar herd of our lawyers, from a blind adoration of the Roman institutes, desire to perpetuate majorats in justifying them by the example of entail, and legacy in trust: but those institutes have nothing similar to majorats. *Common entail* was only a conditional provision, that the second heir should inherit, provided the immediate one did not; and the *guardianship* was restricted to naming the heir of a child, who should die before he became of mature age. Neither of them were sup-

posed to extend a person's last will to the establishment of perpetual heritage; but for the attainment of other, and more justifiable objects. First to prevent the stain which might be cast upon the memory of those who died intestate; and secondly, to preserve wards from falling into the snares of mercenary relations.

The same may be observed of legacies in trust, which was nothing more than a confidential commission, by which the testator conveyed his property to one whom he could not legally appoint his testamentary heir. These confidential commissions were not at first guaranteed by law. During the republic, the payment of legacies in trust depended entirely upon the honour of those to whom they were devised. Augustus, at the solicitation of a number of these fiducial commissioners, made such payment a necessary consequence of accepting the trust, and converted into a civil obligation, what had previously been only a duty of gratitude and piety. It is true, the Romans permitted family legacies in trust; but those did not tend to prolong, but divide the inheritance; not to dispose of it to the remotest posterity, but to distribute it in portions to the individuals of one existing and limited generation. In fact, the emperor Justinian gave further latitude to this law, by extending the power of such bequests in trust to the fourth generation, but without changing either the nature or the succession of the property, and without attaching it for ever to one particular representative. In his institutes, which breathe so much moderation, who can discover the faintest shadow of our majorats?

To grant to a person the power of conveying his property to successive proprietors in an infinite series, to leave the regulation of such conveyance simply to his own will, we do not say independent of the will of his heirs, but even of the laws, thus to deprive property of its most valuable qualities, of being communicable and transferable; to found the preservation of families upon the superabundant wealth of one in every generation, and the poverty of the other branches of the family; to make

make the wealth of a titled person depend upon the chance of birth, without the smallest regard to merit or virtue; these are distributions not less opposite to rational ideas and natural sentiments, than they are repugnant to the principles of the social compact, and to the maxims of equitable legislation and sound policy.

In vain is it to allege for the justification of such practices, that they constitute the essence of a monarchical constitution, for our monarchy was established and arrived at its acme without the aid of majorats. The *Fuero juzgo*, which was the code of public and private justice in Spain down to the thirteenth century, does not contain the slightest vestige, although full of maxims consonant with Roman law, and nearly conformable to it, on the point of succession; yet it neither adopted the doctrine of entail, nor of bequests in trust. The latter exists in other codes anterior to the *partidas*, but where they speak of legacies in trust, it is in the same sense in which they were sanctioned by the Roman law. Whence then could the barbarous establishment of majorats originate?

Doubtless in the feudal rights. That system which, during the middle ages, was in full vigour throughout Italy, became one of the first objects of attention to those lawyers, who studied in the university of Bologna. And ours, who had obtained their information in that school, filled their commentaries upon Alphonsine legislation with those usages, and taught the same principles in the schools of Salamanca. This was the germ of that plant whose fruit is now so fatal.

And would to God when they had introduced this destructive doctrine, they had taken fiefs as their models in the establishment of majorats! Most of the former were transferable, or for the term of life: they consisted of prestations, rents in service, or in money, which were denominated, of *honour*, and of *land*. These, which were ground rents and hereditary, were divided among the children, and terminated with the second generation. From so small a source, flowed an evil of such magnitude and extent.

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The most ancient precedents of majorats in Spain, reach no higher than the fourteenth century, and they rarely occurred even in that period. The necessity of restraining the grants of king Henry, converted many large estates into majorats, although for a limited time. Following these examples, numbers of persons claimed the right of granting in perpetual succession, and the monarchs lent their assistance by sanctioning the right of establishing unlimited majorats. Legal men then began to remove the barriers, which the laws opposed to perpetual entail, till they were entirely abrogated in the fifteenth century, by the cortez of Toro. About the commencement of the sixteenth century the rage for establishing majorats met with no restraint from the legislature: at that period the defenders of majorats contended they were essential to support the dignity of nobility, from which they could not be separated. But did they enrich that constitutional nobility, who founded the Spanish monarchy, contended for centuries against its most ferocious enemies, and so gloriously extended its limits, who defended the country with arms, at the same time that they governed it by their councils, who always formed the shield and support of the state, whether they combated in the field of battle, or deliberated in the cortez; whether they supported the throne, or defended the rights of the people*? No, certainly

* It is surprising to observe how justice in Spain has been overturned by the very laws intended for its support. Our lawyers, exclusively devoted to the study of Roman jurisprudence, have introduced at the bar a mass of discordant opinions, which wage a perpetual conflict with the wisdom of the courts. The *cortes* of Toro, with the design of defining accurately legal verity, sanctioned opinions the most fatal in their effects. Their laws, by extending the doctrine of bequests in trust, and allowing fiefs, gave the first form to *majorats*, anterior to which the name had never disgraced our code. By countenancing perpetual entail of property, which the testator might leave to whom he pleased, to the prejudice of his legitimate heirs, they encouraged celibacy, and men continued bachelors that they might be able to leave the whole of their property in mortmain. By admitting as a good title the proof of immemorial possession, against the stronger presumption of justice, which pre-supposes all property to be free

tainly not. The nobility then were rich, and possessed of landed property; but they had not obtained their fortunes by inheritance, they had acquired them at the point of the sword. The rewards of valour for a long series of time were only personal, and terminated with life; and when in a subsequent period these were transmitted to the heirs, they were distributed among all the children, and remained charged with a service for the defence of the state, upon which they were dependant. If luxury and idleness rendered any unable to obtain the meed of valour, they would also equally deprive of such rewards, the children of those to whom they had been first granted. What illustrious families does history record, that have been eclipsed and thrust into the back ground of obscurity, to make way for others which suddenly have appeared with eclat on the scene, and raised themselves to eminence by valorous exploits and noble actions *? Such were the effects of granting rewards to personal merit, and not to hereditary birth: such was the influence of the opinion that respected individual worth, in preference to family consequence.

But admitting that majorats are essential to the support of the nobility, how can they be justified in the plebeian classes of society? What colourable pretext can be set up for this unlimited privilege of establishing a grant to the noble and the plebeian, to the large and small proprietors, to the rich and poor? What can justify the perpetual entailing the third and

free and transferable; they changed free property of families into property entailed in perpetuity. In fact, by extending the right of representation in descendants, by a right line to relations, and of the fourth generation, they increased the fathomless abyss which ingulphs all landed property for ever.

* Even at the commencement of the sixteenth century, the bishop of Mondognedo observed, what numbers of the most illustrious families, formerly distinguished upon the theatre of life, had been reduced to obscurity and indigence. Among others quoted, are those of Tenorios, Albornoces, Villegas, Trillo, Estevanez, Quintana, Viedma, Cerezuela, &c. &c. See Guevara, Epist. Famil. part i. Epist. 12, December, 1526.

fifth

fifth parts, that is to say, the moiety of all property in the kingdom, to the privilege of rank? The law of the *Fuero* *, in granting the liberty of an unequal division of his goods, had no other aim than a virtuous father should be able to recompense a dutiful son. The law of *Toro* by allowing perpetual entail to property unequally divided, has taken away from parents the power of recompense, prevents virtuous children from receiving the merited rewards, and deprives virtue of all that, which it guarantees to family vanity, for generations to come. Of what advantage can such an illegitimate law be to nobility? Is it not this that has opened a road by which, since the commencement of the sixteenth century, every family able to amass a tolerable fortune has arrived at noble rank? And can that be considered favourable to the cause of nobility, which tends to degrade rank, and bring titles into contempt?

The society, sir, ever looked with respect, and had a greater deference for the majorats among the nobility; and if, on such a delicate subject, it were allowed to give a decision, it would volunteer in the cause of nobility. If this institution has suffered such a material change in the present day, it certainly does not imply any fault in the present nobles, but is the consequent effect of political plans, which oppose and thwart

* The royal edict, in the year 1789, put some restraint upon majorats, established by way of gift; and having done this, has remedied a serious evil. For if entails in perpetuity are all prejudicial, those of small proprietors are peculiarly so, not only by the disparity and disorder they occasion in families and society; but because they also augment the mass of unalienable property, by the facility with which they are established. But what motive should induce the law to tolerate perpetual entails among great proprietors? Would it not be preferable to shut the door completely; and restore in its vigour the laws of *Fuero*? Permit parents to recompense their children by a third or fifth part, whether rich or poor; but do not by allowing them the privilege of this unequal distribution, annex also that of entailing it in perpetuity. Do not let us deprive our descendants, and the state, of the influence that salutary law would have on the reformation of public morals.

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the operation of natural laws. The nobility, it is true, are no longer subject to the expence of contributing towards governing the country by their attendance at the *cortez*, nor of defending it by their personal service in time of war; but who can deny that this exemption has placed them at a distance from two of the most important and glorious functions in which men can be employed?

Modern history represents them as unceasingly occupied in those cares, without apprehension for subsistence, obliged to indulge opinions inseparable from rank, and induced by the superiority of education to aspire after honourable rewards, in preference to those dictated by the paltry consideration of interest; and where can they find an employment commensurate with such elevated notions, if not in these professions, which lead to glory and renown?

Not to mention that portion of the young nobility and gentry who devote a part of their family property, and the valuable years of youth, to dry and abstract studies, to qualify them for receiving ecclesiastical and civil dignities; what is it induces so many youths of genteel and noble families to enter the army and navy? What fortifies them with patience, during the long and painful noviciate which they endure, while passing from the lower to the higher degrees of rank? What is it which leads them to submit to the most strict and rigorous discipline? What makes them resigned with undismayed constancy to the difficult and perilous duties of their arduous situations? It is what, in their view, forms the grandest of all earthly motives, the hope and prospect of reward, stimulating them to the most hazardous enterprises, in quest of that fame, which is the principal object of all their wishes.

The fact, however, is incontestable, that virtues and talents are not the necessary and exclusive appendages of distinguished birth; and consequently it would be a glaring act of injustice to bar to any class of society, the avenue to honours and emoluments. In the mean while, it is difficult to expect the courage, the integrity, the greatness of mind, and all the other dignified

dignified qualities which elevated offices require, to be worthily filled by persons of an obscure and confined education; or by those occupied in professions which contract the mind, and who discover no other motive than necessity, no other aim but interest: while it is easy to find virtues in persons of fortune and distinction, and among even the prejudices of families accustomed to prefer honours to wealth, and to hold riches in no estimation, unless accompanied by glory and reputation. To confound these ideas substantiated by the study of human nature, is to deny the influence of opinion upon the conduct of man, and to suppose that the same principle which begets assiduity in an attorney's clerk, produces also that virtuous inflexibility which renders the upright magistrate deaf to the solicitations of friendship or favour, and unmoved by the attacks or machinations of power; is to consider the spirit which governs the blind and mechanical obedience paid by the common soldier, the same with that which enables a general to remain purposely calm and composed on the field of battle, or in the midst of action, when he is responsible for the discipline and courage of his troops; and when the chance of a moment may decide upon his reputation and fame, to him the most dear and valuable of all earthly possessions!

Just and proper then is it, sir, that those who cannot now acquire in warfare riches and estates, should retain those transmitted to them by a line of noble ancestry. It is right that the state should derive from their elevated sentiments and exalted views, security for the honour and courage of its magistrates and defenders. In this case majorats are defensible; but since it has been clearly proved that their tendency is injurious, the allowing them thus partially to exist should be esteemed a necessary evil, and reduced to the least possible *minimum*. Such is the middle track the society wishes to steer to avoid two opposite rocks, and equally dangerous shoals; should you view these ideas through the prism of generally received opinions, they will doubtless appear eccentric and severe; but if by a laudable effort of your wisdom, and a conduct

duct becoming the importance of the subject, you will ascend to the first principles of legislation, with which you are so competently acquainted; you will be convinced by the evidence adduced, and Spain will be delivered from an oppression, which above all others has been conducive to enfeeble the energies, contract the resources, and accelerate the ruin of the country.

The first measure the nation expects you will adopt, is the abrogation of all laws which allow the perpetual entailing of estates. Entails already in existence should be respected, although so numerous and so prejudicial to the public; but their destructive influence should be circumscribed within certain limits.

Thus the right of entailing property in perpetuity by contract or testament, whether by leaving a large portion to one branch of the family by bequests in trust, or legacies in any other manner, ought instantly to cease; so that permitting all persons to dispose of their property during their life, or after their death, conformably to the laws, they should be prevented from enslaving landed property, by rendering it unalienable, or by loading it with burthens, which render alienation impracticable.

This abrogation, of which the necessity has been demonstrated, is strictly consonant to the principles of justice; for persons derive the right of conveying property by will, not from nature, but from the laws which have granted the privilege, and which still possess the power of its regulation. And what more just or proper regulation can be made than by obliging it to conform to the spirit of our ancient legislation, which, while it would secure to persons all the liberty of transmitting property after their death, would also restrict the effect of such distribution to the next, in favour of future generations.

It will probably be alleged, that to prevent perpetual entails, would be to shut every avenue by which commoners may attain to noble rank. Granted, the consequence might be such, yet this would itself be productive of much good; the nobility would

would be raised to the elevated situation from which they have been degraded; they would obtain daily greater consequence; titles would cease to become contemptible, by being so cheap and common, and the nation would be also a gainer; for the more the unproductive classes of society were limited, more numerous would be the productive; and besides, the nobility, who have no other claim to titles and honours but their wealth, are not the class which can be serviceable to any state.

The apprehension, that it would operate as a discouragement to virtue, is without foundation Besides the consideration, that glory is the infallible reward of great actions, and constitutes the best and most solid claim to title and rank; the state would bestow personal, or heritable nobility, upon such as merited the distinction; without which, it must allow them to enjoy their property by perpetual entail. If, for instance, the son of a distinguished citizen should follow his example, the personal honours of the father would become hereditary in his children, and if they should be undeserving of them, what evil would it be if they should be deprived of what they were unworthy to retain? The recompence would never be more anxiously desired, than when merit was essential for its preservation; besides, the royal prerogative would probably interfere with the general law in all cases, where such interference might be deemed indispensable for the good of the state. If a person by great, arduous, or constant services, should raise himself to a degree of fame or consequence, so as to demand the veneration and gratitude of the people, if the rewards granted should enhance his fortune to an equality with his fame; as a last recompence, liberty should be given him to establish a majorat to perpetuate his name to posterity. Were such privileges granted with extreme caution, and in cases of acknowledged justice, instead of having an injurious tendency, they would operate as useful and proper examples. But circumspection is essential here: justice and caution are absolutely requisite in the dispensation of such favours, if it be desirable to render them valuable; for if partiality or importunity should

should obtain them for persons, who have enriched themselves; for instance, in America by contracts, by commerce, or by the establishment of manufactures, what power will the state have remaining to recompense its benefactors and defenders?

The evil produced by majorats is so great, that it will be of little service to impede their progress unless some still more powerful remedies are applied. The families even in whose favour they were established are now experiencing their oppressive and pernicious effects. Nothing is so repugnant to the feelings of common sense as to see the younger members of families, the eldest of which are in possession of large estates, without establishment, destitute of education, and merely vegetating in celibacy, sloth, want, and misery. The court of equity endeavouring to reconcile the respect due to perpetual entail, and the privilege of rank, with the justice also due to similar rank, frequently taxes majorats with certain annuities in favour of the younger branches of noble families, but this remedy is itself an evil; ground rents are in direct opposition to majorats, because diminishing the produce of the estate, they tend to lessen its value; consequently they prevent, so far, the operation of individual interest, and thus aggravate the principle of dereliction and ruin, which is already inherent in unalienable and entailed property. It would, under such circumstances, be more consonant to justice to permit the sale of entailed estates, rather than burthen them with paralyzing annuities.

It is admitted, that by this system some entailed estates would be diminished, while others would be extended: and this is devoutly to be wished for. Those immense majorats which encourage excessive luxury, and its inseparable concomitant, corruption, are not less injurious to the state than the small majorats, which cherish sloth and pride in a great number of poor gentlemen, who, not possessed of sufficient affluence to move in a high and honourable career, disdain employment in useful, because inferior occupations: and it would occasion a great diminution in the number of nobles.

Nobility having been made hereditary, is consequently become perpetual; and dividing, ramifying, and multiplying its progress, can have no assignable limit, because it is common to all the descendants of noble families. It must be acknowledged that frequently it is destroyed or confounded in poverty; but if the case were otherwise, what would become of the state, what would become of nobility itself? Where would be found a family not noble? And if all were so, what value could be then set upon a quality which derives its chief importance from being a privilege conferred on a few *?

Public interest also requires that the possessors of majorats should have power to grant long or emphyteous leases. Perpetual entail is not compatible with a contract, which presupposes the alienability of useful estates; but what inconvenience could result from permission being granted to the possessors of majorats, to make such an alienation, which, while it preserved in the family the entailed estate, insured a more ample revenue, and guaranteed the payment by the responsibility of the co-proprietor of the land?

Frauds might be committed in granting these leasehold rents; but the prevention would be easy, by making, previous to a contract of this kind, an inquest, which should verify the annual value of the lands intended to be leased, before the constituted authorities of the district; and, if thought necessary, be sanctioned by the superior magistrates of the province: the immediate successor to the majorat might examine the inquest, or the cyndic, or his attorney, if the successor was under age. This would obviate all the difficulties to be apprehended in the granting such a power.

The cause of agriculture requires such a decision; for farmers are never so strongly induced to increase the produce of

* A rule established in Castile that such as were unable to sustain the dignity and perform the duties of nobility should lay down their titles is very remarkable, and proves how far our ancestors endeavoured to reconcile their cruel system of polity with the rights of humanity. See the *Fuero viejo*, or treatise on gentlemen. Lib. x. cap. 5, n. 16, p. 27.

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the soil, as when they are co-proprietors of the land; nor better encouraged to ameliorate and improve cultivation than when they are satisfied their industry and toil will be profitable both to them and their children. This union of two capitals and of two interests devoted to the same object would be more efficacious than all other encouragements, and perhaps the most just, direct, and only method of extirpating enormously large farms from among us, of subdividing and peopling territory, of combining property and culture, of causing the lands to be sown annually, and of obtaining by labour and manuring that produce from land for which we are indebted at present to fallowing and rest. This decision would probably carry agricultural improvement far beyond our most sanguine expectation.

A doctrine taken from the Roman law, and accredited at our bar by the supporters of majorats, although clearly founded upon their opinions rather than on the authority of the laws, has contributed to deprive the nation of these advantages, and therefore justly merits your severe animadversion. According to that a successor to a majorat is not bound to continue leases granted by his predecessor; for they say, he not being an heir, the former engagements cannot be obligatory upon him. Whence has been established the maxim, "*that leases expire on the demise of the lessor.*" But such doctrine is as opposite to reason as it is repugnant to equity: for, setting aside metaphysical subtleties, or chicanery, it cannot be denied that the possessor of a majorat ought to be considered as the proprietor of the entailed property; because nothing has here tended to alienate the property, nor to confuse the succession; and besides the simple attribute of an administrator, lawyers themselves allow, is sufficient to render his contract valid, and his obligations transmissible.

Yet such opinions do irreparable injury to agriculture; for they confine within too narrow limits the extent of leasehold tenures, and thus become highly prejudicial to the culture of entailed estates. No reliance can be placed upon the suppo-

sition that they will be properly cultivated by the proprietors themselves, far removed from rural scenes and rustic labours, by their education, rank, and general residence. And how can it be expected any farmer will break up, inclose, plant, stock, and improve an estate which he may not enjoy above three or four years, and from which he is liable to be ousted every day? Is it not far more probable that he will confine his attention to obtaining the best possible present crops, by exhausting the land without adverting to its future sterility?

An act should, therefore, be passed which would chace such opinions from our courts of law, re-establish the reciprocal rights of property and culture, and allow the possessors of majorats to grant leases for a long term, even for ninety-nine years, or more, and secure to farmers their durable rights till the end of the stipulated period. It is to this custom, established in England, which secures to occupiers the possession of feudal estates, that the economists of that kingdom attribute the flourishing state of its agriculture *. Why not then adopt it in ours? A prohibition of the anticipated payment of rents, by declaring that the farmer who might be guilty of it should forfeit such sum or sums so paid, would be effectual to prevent any fraud occurring to the loss of the successor to the estate.

As the liberty of granting leases for a long term is agreeable to the principles of justice, so would it militate against these principles, to enforce it by any express or particular law. The society wishes nothing more than that the possessors of majorats should have liberty to grant their estates upon long leases; for it does not conceive any law could be just which would fix the duration of such leases, and deprive proprietors of the liberty to lease their lands for a shorter term. The reflections suggested analogous to these, contained in other parts of this memoir, must have proved to you, sir, how contrary to the society are those extremes, which, instead of encouraging

* Smith's Wealth of Nations. Vol. I. book 3, chap. 2.

agriculture,

agriculture, have generally terminated in its declension and ruin.

In fine, sir, it appears an indispensable requisite that the law of Toro should be repealed, which prevents children and heirs of successors to a majorat from deriving the benefit of those improvements which otherwise would have been made *. This law, passed in haste, and without the legislature understanding the reason for it, according to the testimony of doctor Palacios Rubios, is become still more destructive by the latitude given it through the ignorance of our lawyers, as well as its own unjust provisions; and it surely ought, therefore, no longer to exist, more especially at a time when attempts are making to reform the errors and vices of our legal code. For, to convince you of the unjust doctrines which have been supported by this law, the society need not demonstrate the damage agriculture has sustained by its depriving it of many good and industrious families; this law appears conspicuously cruel and injurious, by the encouragement it affords to those who, protected by legal authority, sacrifice their natural sentiments to pride and vanity, and to surround their name with

* This law, which our lawyers openly call barbarous and unjust, has become more so by the latitude with which it has been interpreted in legal commentaries. Properly extended, it confined its intention solely to the repairs of houses; but the practitioners have extended its meaning to every sort of amelioration; and the more it is viewed, the less will it appear what motive could have dictated such a law; is it credible, that at a period when the building fortified places was forbidden to private persons, when leave was refused to repair those in a dilapidated state, when those yet belonging to the grandees were ordered to be demolished; in a word, when the government endeavoured to take from the nobility those monuments of feudal despotism, those limits of anarchy, and assyla of contempt for justice and law; is it credible, that in the identical period a statute was enacted, which entailed in perpetuity the reparation and enlargement of those very fortresses, or castellated mansions, belonging to private individuals? From this single example may be ascertained how extremely ignorant the lawyers of that era were of all the principles of rational and enlightened policy.

false and surreptitious glory, consign, through their folly, a numerous posterity to want and infamy!

Such, sir, are the measures the society submits to your superior wisdom. Doubtless, in the examination of majorats, you will discover that many other regulations should be adopted, to prevent numerous inconveniences resulting from the system; but those here proposed are calculated to afford an immediate remedy for the evils under which agriculture at present labours, without depriving the state of those political benefits it may derive from the institution of majorats. Regarding nobility as essential to the dignity and preservation of monarchy, the adoption of these principles would add to the respect which the public entertain for the nobles. By shutting the avenues through which wealth, destitute of merit, arrives at rank, they would open to merit fame and emolument; and inspiring the noble youth with sentiments of honour, they would develope a career of useful action, without excluding the talents and the virtues of others destitute of birth and title. In a word, they would oppose an insurmountable barrier to the impending storm which threatens to deluge us with an universal inundation. They would confine within proper limits those immense entails which support a most enormous and contagious luxury; they would remove without injustice, or danger of agitating the state, and, as it were, by a gradual consumption, the remaining small majorats, which scarcely meriting the name, yet serve to encourage sloth and inactivity; they would liberate agriculture from the oppressive fetters with which it is at present enslaved, and by reconciling the principles of policy which protect majorats with those of justice which condemn them, they would be highly profitable to the interests of the nation, and reflect deserved credit and honour upon you.

Circulation of landed Produce.

Hitherto the attention of the society has been only called to

to the laws which relate to property arising from land and labour; it remains for it to consider those which respect the property of agricultural productions, and which possess an influence so much the more direct, as they affect the interests of persons more immediately concerned in cultivation.

The fruits of the earth being the direct production of labour, and the only property of the farmer, they should be considered with sacred respect in the view of the legislature, and should receive its particular protection, as representing the subsistence of the majority of the most considerable and interesting members of the state; and the only recompence of their fatigue and toil. None should owe this protection to birth or fortune; let all immediately enjoy the fruit of their talents and their industry: besides, this property is precarious and uncertain, dependent in a great degree upon the changes in the atmosphere and variety of seasons; so that it has every claim which can recommend it to the justice and humanity of government.

But it is not the farmer who is alone interested in the protection of this property, the proprietor is equally so; for the produce being naturally divided between him and the cultivators, it is clear that they exhibit all the produce of property, of the soil, and of labour together: every law, therefore, which should make the slightest attack on the property of these productions must injure the individual interest of all, and would not only be unjust, but contrary to the aim and intention of rural legislation.

These reflections alone are sufficient to characterize every law which attempts to circumscribe, in any manner whatever, the free and unrestrained liberty in the disposal of the fruits of the ground. In adverting to this subject the society will confine itself as much as possible to general considerations; for it would be extremely difficult to go over, even cursorily, the immense series of statutes, ordinances, and regulations which have restrained and violated this liberty.

Happily for the society, it has no longer to combat the most

injurious of all, your wisdom having rescinded for ever from our legal code, *taxation of grain;* a law which took its rise in periods of difficulty and disorder, frequently repealed, and again re-enacted, so that it became an object of dread to the little farmers, and of contempt to the great proprietors and rich merchants, and as injurious to agriculture as it was inadequate to accomplish the proposed aim.

Taxes.

But since this law has been repealed, and the tax on corn been abolished, and that for ever, why suffer an impost upon other productions of the soil so much more oppressive, because it is not regulated by the equitable wisdom of the legislature, but by the partial caprice of the municipal magistrates? Since grain, the object of the first necessity for the support of life, has extorted from justice a free market, why is it that other kinds of produce, almost equally necessary, have not been allowed to enjoy a similar privilege?

This single distinction will evidently demonstrate what culpable negligence the laws have shewn to that first object of sound policy, the subsistence of the people, having abandoned the entire care to the will and direction of the magistrates, and the facility they have shewn in adopting the different municipal ordinances; for the taxation, and the fixing a ratio to the price of commodities, have never been prescribed by any general law.

The infallible consequence of this negligence of the laws was to leave the property in other productions besides corn, to the arbitrary discretion, and consequently to the unjust decision of, not only magistrates, but their subaltern agents; for even upon the hypothesis that both should act according to the rules of ordinary prudence, they would naturally lean to the interest of the state, the support of which is the intention of taxation, rather than to that of the persons whose produce might be taxed Hence originates the miserable oppression discoverable

discoverable almost over the whole country, in supplying the necessities of the inhabitants.

But this system has produced the same effects, which all laws prejudicial to individual interest must produce. The sources of supplies are not in our cities; they can only be found in the country; and permission has not been granted to open proper channels by which those supplies might be conveyed where personal interest demands. Thus have the obstacles which have opposed this interest prevented or banished plenty; and notwithstanding taxes, the result has been a great loss of commodities, and great inconvenience to the nation at large.

In vain is a good market expected for articles upon any other principle than that of abundance; and that abundance cannot exist but where commerce is free. Nothing but the hope of gain can induce cultivators to increase the produce of the soil, and to bring it to a market. Liberty only can cherish this hope, produce the necessary competition, and by that means a fair and equitable price, the object of universal desire. Taxation, prohibitions, and all the regulating ordinances only tend to weaken this rivalry, and consequently to discourage agriculture, by preventing competition, and diminishing plenty: in such a case, by an infallible principle of reaction, loss of the object will be the result of the very measures taken for the purpose of its security.

Amongst such regulations the most deserving particular notice are those which restrain *middle-men* in the sale of commodities, the traders in fish and fruits; in a word, all those who deal in retail articles, and who are objects of general dislike, and a butt to the oppressive measures of municipal magistrates; as though they were not necessary instruments, or at least useful to the trading interest; as though they were not, with respect to cultivators, what woollen-drapers and silk-mercers are to the merchants and manufacturers.

An ignorance unpardonable in this enlightened age, occasioned in our ancestors this unjust prejudice. It was observed that men purchased at a cheap market, and sold at a dear one,

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as though that was not essential to every kind of traffic; where the advance of price represents the value of the industry, and the interest of the capital employed by the retail vender. Such persons do not consider that the advance in the price of articles from the grower and seller constitutes the wages of the time and labour the latter bestows to procure them from the country, and bring them to market; that he has to sell them by retail, and to bear the losses to which he is frequently subject by such retailing: they do not consider that if the cultivator becomes also the vender, that he will put upon the articles an additional price to remunerate him for the time and trouble it may cost, which necessarily must be taken from the other occupations, or he must sell with loss; and in that case he would either consume the commodities himself, instead of taking them to market, or cease to grow them: on either supposition, therefore, the markets in cities and towns would be ill supplied. They do not recollect that this very subdivision of agency, and these intermediate tradesmen, reduce instead of advancing the price of articles. 1st, Because they economically manage both the time and labour which the extra price represents. 2d, By making it their immediate profession they increase the facility and multiply the means of traffic. 3d, They are best acquainted where purchasers may be found, and the places of greatest consumption. 4th, By multiplying sales the combination of a number of small profits are equivalent to a great one, and consequently productive of advantage both to the vender and consumer.

What will now be stated necessarily follows, that prohibiting the sale of articles without the city, of selling at certain hours, and under certain forms, to which the venders are subjected by law, and those ordinances made respecting innkeepers, tavern-keepers, and keepers of eating-houses, which give them the privilege of purchasing before other people, as if they were not the servants of the public; the preferences and delays in the sale of commodities granted to certain individuals and corporations, and other similar regulations which crowd

crowd our municipal laws, are equally injurious with a taxation of the market; because they so far retard the mobility of individual interest, banish from our cities plenty and competition, and occasion an advance in the price of provisions.

These restraints are defended by the dread of monopoly, which shews the municipal police is ever imagining that monopoly is hidden under the mantle of liberty; not considering that if liberty should excite, the same principle would suppress it, by naturally producing competition, which destroys it. Persons in general do not reflect, they do not perceive, that when *all* tradesmen aim at monopoly, *none* can effect his purpose; because by becoming rivals they place the power of fixing the price in the hands of the consumer. They do not consider that a monopolising spirit cannot execute its designs, but in the absence of competition, driven from the market by municipal regulations, and oppressions; for then, destitute of a hiding place, consumers themselves cast over it an accommodating veil, which, in such a state of things, all the inspection, and all the zeal of the police, can never unmask nor destroy They do not perceive, that, if a spirit of monopoly frequently prevails in articles of consumption subject to taxes and prohibitions, it never enters into those where the trade is free; for experience demonstrates, that the dealers, instead of concealing themselves from the consumers, seek for them, and by every means in their power endeavour to procure a sale for their commodities.

To these regulations, in a great measure, may be attributed the high price of articles, produced without much labour and expence, and of general consumption. The cultivator, not finding it his interest to sell his commodity at the regulated price, and disgusted, also, at market by oppressive and vexatious formalities to which he must submit, becomes careless about their production. Two or three bad markets will be sufficient to establish an opinion upon the subject; and to prevent a whole province from cultivating any particular crop, or raising any particular article. Can any other reason be

be adduced for the shameful necessity to which we have long been reduced of importing from *France* the *eggs* consumed at *Madrid*?

Nor can it for a moment be supposed, that these objects which many look upon with an eye of indifference, and as accidental to culture, have not a considerable influence upon national prosperity. Is there a country where a farmer can afford to pay a high rent without their assistance? An effect arising in some provinces from the advanced price of land, and, in others, from an increase of population.

There are countries where fruits, pulse, roots, poultry, eggs, milk, and other similar commodities, chiefly constitute the principal remuneration of the farmer. On the little gains arising from such articles he lives; the larger crops are appropriated to defray the expence of culture, seed, first fruits, tythes, offerings of St. James, taxes, and particularly the rent of the land, which is invariably calculated according to the actual or presumed value of the annual produce. These apparently trifling objects merit the attention of the law much more than is generally imagined. To be convinced of this, a person need only rightly calculate what profit a family of cultivators would derive from a large kitchen-garden carefully attended to, two cows, four or five goats, a sow, a dove-cote, and a poultry yard. From this he might fairly appreciate the value of this obscure source of public wealth, which is equally unknown and neglected in Spain. It must not be denied that the scarcity of such articles may be owing to a variety of other causes. So long as lands remain in an uninclosed state, and immensely large farms are suffered to exist, devoid of labourers, an abundance cannot be expected of such articles, as suppose population to be extended over the face of the whole country, the multiplication of rustic families, the increase of cattle, and above all that attentive care, industry, and economy, which cannot exist where these are wanting. It is, however, certain, whenever by the necessary consequence of a good code of rural legislation, agriculture

ture shall be improved, these objects will be attained: but an abundance of them cannot be expected if improvement be not attempted by abandoning those principles by which the police, in regard to human subsistence, has been hitherto guided.

A plentiful and good market must be effected by the combination of both. When the farmer shall be placed in a state in which he may increase his cattle and the produce of the soil; and when he shall have liberty to sell his commodities near his farm, upon the high road, or at the first market he may come to; when every person can place his industry between the grower and consumer; when the security of this liberty shall equally encourage the cultivators and the dealers in the productions of the land; then such articles will become as plentiful as the state of cultivation and the consumption in every market will admit. Then the interest of these two distinct kinds of agents, employing all their activity, the first labouring to increase the produce of their lands, and the last those articles in which they traffic; both by competition would produce plenty; monopoly would hide its diminished head; and by a method as simple as it is just, a good market, the support of all industry, would be better obtained than by all the ordinances and regulations of municipalities.

This doctrine universally applies to every kind of supplies, without exempting those justly considered as of the first necessity for human subsistence.

It is certain that butchers' meat would every where find a fairer market, if every person were at liberty to kill and sell, on his own account, the animals intended for public consumption, instead of being obliged to dispose of them to a contractor, whose exclusive profits must arise from the advanced price he receives, that constituting the only inducement he has to supply the market. The same would be the case with oil and wine, if the *millones*, and the various precautions which burthen them with a heavy tax did not conspire with the municipal police to render the price of these articles high

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to the consumers, without the smallest advantage accruing to the growers.

But the society would digress too far, if it pursued step by step all the relations existing between the population of town and country, and between the police respecting lands and cities. For which reason it concludes this article by speaking of *bread*, the principal object in the view of both.

Internal Trade in general.

Bread, like other articles of commerce, is dear or cheap, according as there prevails a scarcity or plenty of grain; and if the variations of price, occasioned by the laws and public opinion, could be subtracted from this kind of traffic, the price would be regulated by that of corn. Let us, then, examine, if this object, so important, so delicate, and so deserving the most pointed attention of government, can be governed by the simple principles the society has adopted, and to make the application more evident, let us speak of the internal corn trade.

A remarkable difference exists between the trade in this and other articles of commerce; a difference, which is owing to the deficiency rather than to the redundancy of corn, or rather to the dread people incessantly feel of dearth. The high and low price of grain is occasioned less by the large or small quantity at harvest, to the plenty or scarcity which may actually exist, than to the opinion entertained by the public respecting such superfluity or deficiency; an opinion formed more according to the quantity exposed for sale in the market, or in public granaries, than to what is shut up by cultivators, proprietors, and dealers in their private storehouses. Hence it follows, that the most just and reasonable policy relative to the corn trade is that, which prevents the public from being acquainted with the real quantity of corn that can be brought into the market.

This reflection will shew, that if a free trade in other articles

ticles be beneficial, liberty in the sale of corn is still more essentially necessary; and that it should not be confined by any kind of restrictive system. For no one can imagine that it could be established in any way which would not contain partial precautions, and unequal regulations; and these would become means of influencing public opinion, whether it led to a false security, or an unfounded apprehension as to plenty, or scarcity, to whichsoever side it might happen to lean.

This sudden variation, which, in abundant years, is highly prejudicial to the cultivator and the proprietor by reducing the price of corn below what even a good harvest should allow, is unquestionably more injurious to the consumers in years of scarcity; for fear impresses the mind much more forcibly than hope, and its effects are far more rapid and extensive. In such cases, the methods adopted to prevent famine tend to increase alarm, and the very attention of the magistrates, by augmenting the apprehensions of the people, deprives them of every ray of hope inseparable from desire, and subjects them to convulsions and agonies, which, in no instances, are so terrible as in times when there exists a dread of famine.

Thus, as the system of freedom, respecting the corn-trade in the interior, would be more favourable to the consumers, and the modifications which the laws have wished to make, having for their aim the advantage of the same class, it is highly reasonable that agriculture should possess an absolute liberty, equally essential for its progress and prosperity.

This liberty is also founded in justice. For if, generally, some provinces in Spain do not produce sufficient corn to supply the wants of the inhabitants, while others on an average raise more than they consume, the freedom of the trade in corn is an act of justice due to both; to the first as a mean of providing for their subsistence; and to the second as a mean no less indispensable for recompensing their labour, defraying their expences, and promoting the interests of cultivators. It is granted that this liberty, allowed in its full extent,

extent, would only diminish partial scarcity, and could not afford sufficient abundance to supply the demands of every province; for many other causes may operate to prevent the progress of agriculture. But, without freedom, it never can make much progress, nor produce more grain than will be consumed in the environs, whatever methods besides may be tried for its encouragement. It is a constant axiom in political economy, confirmed by experience, that cultivation keeps a regular proportion with consumption; so that a province, which cannot consume the superfluity of its crop, will annually cultivate less, till culture and consumption approximate together. Then the surplus of produce will disappear, to the prejudice not only of such a fertile province, but also of that sterile part of the country whose wants might otherwise have been supplied.

This reasoning may be applied very forcibly among us, because our agricultural provinces, possessing little skill, are obliged to have recourse to those which are not agricultural for productions which require art and dexterity. This is the cause why manufactured articles are dearer in the former than in the latter countries; because the price of labour, which fixes their value, is always dearest in the last, on account of its being regulated by the price of bread. The agricultural provinces have, also, further to pay for the expences and hazard in trade, which enhance the wages of industry. Thus, if we suppose in these provinces the price of corn were at the *minimum* of its value, because there might be a superabundance, it will follow that neither the proprietor nor farmer would have wherewith to reward the industry of the other provinces, without whose labours these could not well exist; having no manufactures among them, their capital would continually decrease, they would daily become poorer, their agriculture would dwindle, and their population, of which it forms the base, would seriously diminish.

Those who combine the relations existing between agriculture and manufactures, value themselves without reason upon the

the pretended results of their calculations to prove, that prohibiting the corn trade may, in some instances, convert certain agricultural into manufacturing provinces; encouraging culture in the one by the high price of corn, and industry and skill in the other by advancing the remunerations of labour. Such politicians have never considered, that nature has unequally imparted her gifts; that agriculture and manufacturing skill suppose relations which are not every where found, and means which cannot be suddenly acquired; that agriculture demands both a large and fertile territory, capital, science, industry, skill, activity, œconomy, and extensive correspondence: in a word, it is as impossible for Castile, deprived of its resources, to become instantly a manufacturing country, as it would be for Catalonia instantaneously to be converted into an agricultural province, without having previously acquired the necessary means.

If any thing could surmount these reciprocal obstacles, it would doubtless be the free internal trade in corn; by its assistance the agricultural provinces would find in their superfluity an annual increase of wealth, and that superfluity constantly increasing by improvements in cultivation, they would, at length, be induced to employ a part of their wealth in the establishment of manufactures: therefore, freedom once granted to the corn trade, would produce what is vainly expected from every other measure. Still the manufacturing provinces, which would purchase the grain necessary for their support at a lower price, would increase their productions, and conclude by improving their agriculture, cultivating wheat, and other commodities, so far as might be consistent with the nature of the soil. For example, Catalonia, whose agriculture and manufactures have continually been making rapid advances, while those of Castile have equally decreased, is a demonstration of the point.

The enjoyment of a free corn-trade in the interior has been attempted with a view, at the same time, to avoid the con-

sequent dangers to be apprehended, by granting permission to the carriers, *tragineros*, while it has been denied to the corn-dealers: supposing, by this method, to convert the carriers into merchants. The carriers are a very poor class, without any other capital than their beasts of burden, mules, and their own industry; and were the trade restricted to what they could purchase, and dispose of, the corn-trade must be so very inconsiderable, that many provinces would be in danger of perishing by famine; while others would be ruined by the reduction of price occasioned by superfluity. Practically impossible is it, therefore, to give relief to either, but by permitting more powerful agents to participate in the trade.

The fact is, that the agents adapted for the purpose can never be found but among the mercantile part of the community, for none but those possess sufficient capital. And further, merchants only are capable of forming useful speculations upon an article whose relations are so various and complex; such only, assisted by correspondents, are able to obtain intelligence what parts of the country labour under a deficiency, and what possess a surplus to furnish them with a supply. These only are able to send large quantities of grain to great distances in the face of difficulty and danger; these only are capable of defying the unfavourable prejudices, which are entertained against the trade, and which the laws have confirmed. In a word, these only possess that foresight, perseverance and attention in forming the intermediate connections, without which the circulation of provisions must always be uncertain and slow in operation, and the trade very inconsiderable.

Monopoly, it is objected, would destroy all the advantages produced by liberty; and this monopoly, which can never be apprehended on the part of the carriers, would have a fine opportunity of exerting its influence on the side of the merchants; for the former cannot pply the capital, the intelligence, and the various means which the latter would. The

carriers

carriers are a numerous body, they inhabit villages far distant from each other, the nature of their employment renders them strangers to all spirit of calculation, and only occupied in endeavouring to supplant each other, by offering a lower rate of carriage, they cannot combine for any other enterprise: so that monopoly amongst them must always be limited, and individual; that is, in fact, none at all. Whereas, on the other hand, the merchants established in large cities, becoming the agents both of the circulation of corn and money belonging to the different provinces, forecasting by means of their purchases and correspondents the situation of every corner in the country, naturally connected by profession and the relations of business, and as ready to unite their efforts, whenever it is likely to promote their common interest, as to oppose each other when the same interest divides them, what a dreadful monopoly would be the consequence if an unbounded liberty encouraged their speculations! The combinations of a single week would place sufficient corn in their hands to supply a whole province; and the subsistence, the peace, and happiness of people would become the sport of their unfeeling avidity.

This, sir, is all that can be advanced against an unrestricted corn trade. This is the foundation of all the limits within which it has been confined by law. It would not be difficult completely to refute this assumption by reasons not less abstracted than those before advanced; but the society, avoiding a spirit of system, and having for its aim the public good, will confine its considerations to those views prescribed by the actual state of the provinces, and inquire what influence monopoly may be able to exert; and this, perhaps, may lead to the discovery of truth upon so important a subject.

If the law were adequate to the prevention of monopoly, if its operations exhibited themselves in so clear a light that they might be easily comprehended, if private interest did not increase its stratagems, in proportion as the law took precautions, then a comparison might be made between the laws which prohibit and restrict the corn trade of the interior

with those which grant it a free course. The influence of each upon the circulation of this valuable merchandize once known, a simple calculation upon its advantages or disadvantages would furnish a certain result, which might form a constant and unerring guide to the legislature. But sad experience often proves the contrary, and the insufficiency of all laws to repress the manœuvres of covetousness is not less evident, than the irresistible force of private interest against the power of legislation.

Who dare affirm that the severest prohibitions would be adequate to repress monopoly? Who can be ignorant that it has often been encouraged by those very restrictions imposed by the laws? If proof of so palpable a fact be required, the law itself will afford it. The preambles of its statutes, in this branch of police, not only prove the existence of monopoly in every period, and every state, but also acknowledge that the insufficiency of precautions taken by some laws, has occasioned the necessity of enacting others; and if this investigation be extended to the time when not only the foresight of the legislature, but the caprice of the municipal magistrates, made temporary regulations for this trade, it will be discovered that never in Spain did there exist such a shameful and scandalous monopoly as that which prevailed under the restrictive system. Indeed, how could it have been otherwise, when it was authorised by an imperious necessity. Whatever system the legislature may adopt, should it permit the trade in corn to operate so as to hazard the destruction of some provinces by famine, while in others the wheat would be given to feed the hogs? And in whatever manner this trade may be permitted, whatever may be the kind of regulations, the agents who undertake, or the instruments who conduct it, is it not evident that necessity and interest will give the power to the merchants? Who but they will hazard their capital? And if others possessing riches should embark in the trade, would they not undertake it from the same motives, act in the same spirit, conduct it with similar views, and pursue it with

equal

equal avidity with the merchants? How then is it possible to repress a monopoly excited by so many interests, and which necessity itself encourages and protects.

If there be any truth known and proved by experience, it is this, that a spirit of monopoly multiplies stratagems of evasion, in proportion as the law enacts new precautions. "*Law does, deceit undoes,*" says a Spanish proverb; the carriers, the carmen, and muletiers are the confidents, the factors, and the persons who lend their names to the merchants. If an account of the warehouses is required, and their names are to be affixed, the warehouses are then transformed into granaries, and granaries into warehouses; the merchant does not store up, he buys; and the proprietor who sells the corn does not deliver, but retains it at the future disposal of the merchant, makes himself an agent, and receives the right of hoarding up his corn. Is it made unlawful to sell privately? fifty fanegas will be taken to market, while five hundred are secretly sold! What Argus is capable of pursuing these fictitious contracts, and diving into these obscure mysteries, over which private interest casts an impenetrable veil? Supposing government could discover them, intermingle with all the contractors, regulate all itself, and supplant commerce in supplying the markets; then all would be lost, then should we have bitterly to lament the multiplied confusion, and the frightful agitation which would ensue; and, in the general alarm, monopoly, pretending to stretch out an helping hand, would destroy those means of assistance and enrich itself. And happy would it be if the history of scarcity had not so often and so recently confirmed the truth of this melancholy statement.

After what is here suggested, the decision should be in favour of a free corn trade; for by increasing the number of venders and the facility of sale, the law would put the greatest possible restraint upon monopoly. But there are two reasons arising from the peculiarity of our situation, and consequently very forcible, which prove in the most satisfactory manner that in no country would the liberty sought be more advantageous, nor

where less may be apprehended from the effects of monopoly, than in ours.

The first of these reasons is, a monopoly of grain is naturally established in Spain, at least to a certain extent; for in whose hands is nearly the whole? doubtless in the church, the monasteries, and the rich majorats. This is proved by what has already been advanced upon the enormous accumulation of unalienable property. Let us then examine whether the owners of these depositories are or are not monopolists.

Avoiding personal reflections, and without pretending to be ignorant of the examples of charity, that in times of distress and famine have been set by these respective classes, it cannot be denied that the general aim of every proprietor is to sell his corn at the highest possible price; that with this design he keeps it many months, and refuses to sell it till the most favourable opportunity arrives, that is to say, when indications of scarcity awaken in his breast the hope of an advance in the market. Abstractedly then from all design, all concealment, all secret operation always dreaded, because the path of interest is dark and slippery; what other name can be given to property in corn, shut up in such a small number of hands, if not a *legal* and *authorised monopoly?*

Surely then, under such circumstances, freedom in the corn trade of the interior appears an indispensable necessity. The intervention of merchants with their monopoly, if it can be so called, would be beneficial; because, by combating the monopoly of the proprietors, it would weaken its power. Multiplying repositories of grain, and increasing the number of venders, would necessarily excite competition, and diminish undue influence upon the price, which is always regulated by the relations subsisting between the buyer and the seller; and the merchants in this case, endeavouring to supplant the proprietors, the public would reap the advantage of their rivalry.

This reflection will be corroborated by considering the nature of the two monopolies, or if you will, the two kinds of trade. The merchant from the spirit of his concern, founds his

his profits rather upon the number of his speculations than upon the result of any one in particular; that is to say, he prefers a considerable sum arising from numerous repeated gains, to a large profit arising from a single adventure. For this cause he is satisfied with a reasonable profit from each speculation, without attempting to enhance too high the price of the article. It is certain that he will endeavour to derive from every speculation as much profit as he possibly can; but this possibility will be relative, not absolute, that is to say, it will be regulated not by what he expects from one adventure, but by all which he may be able to make: so that hope on one side, and on the other, desire of preserving his reputation, of fulfilling his contracts on the day of payment, and the prevention of interruption in his concerns, oblige him to open his warehouses whenever an advantageous price offers, without waiting till a further advance takes place in the articles he may have to sell.

The case with great proprietors is quite different, the only speculations they make consist in the attempt to obtain the highest possible price for their corn; with this view they hoard it to derive the greatest gain, and in this respect they almost invariably profit by favourable times and advantageous opportunities. They keep this point constantly in sight, not only in scanty years, but also in those of plenty, accumulating under this expectation the corn of several harvests. The economist, Lavala, remarked, that even in his time, in very plentiful years, the proprietors sold every thing else they possessed, ran in debt, and mortgaged their estates, rather than sell their corn at a reduced price. Do merchants act in this manner?

Supposing liberty were granted to the trade, the merchant would purchase at the time of harvest; and not being able to buy of the great proprietors, who never sell at that season, he must naturally apply to the small farmers, by which means competition would be increased, and agriculture receive from commerce the only possible advantage, that of preventing the unreasonable reduction in the price of corn, sold by its imme-

diate agents; and the enormous difference in the value of wheat nearest and furthest from the time of harvest would be diminished, and this would materially benefit the small farmers. The merchant, following the progress of his speculations, would sell when there was a prospect of a fair profit, by the competition of venders at the second period, and would oblige the proprietors to sell at the same price; so that the consumer would derive more advantage from this rivalry than from the best formed system of restrictive laws.

Another reason for a free corn trade in the interior is, the difficulty of carriage, our productive provinces being the most distant from the sterile parts of the kingdom; and as we possess few navigable rivers, canals, or good roads, the carriage of grain is not only tedious and expensive, but so difficult and perilous, as has already been observed, that none but merchants can surmount the opposing obstacles; without their interference there could be little trade, besides that carried on between neighbouring places, for the small cultivators and carriers would not be able to establish markets; but the great object of the corn trade is to convey it to distant provinces, which stand in need of the superabundance found in others. Can government oblige those proprietors, who wait till pressing necessity attracts buyers, to supply these provinces? Will it oblige the little farmers, who have parted with their grain long before scarcity commences, to take a share in supplying them? Will it force the carriers, who perceive no other necessity but what immediately oppresses them, who rarely pass the limits of their province, will it force them to attend far distant markets? Doubtless these have conveyed corn to remote parts, but then this has been on the merchant's account; but to require them to convey it on their own, is to expect, that instantly, without skill or experience, they should change their profession, and become dealers without ceasing to be carriers: in a word, it is to place the sustenance of the people, the first object of a government's care, at the hazard of a hope, which it is next to impossible ever should be realized.

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A free corn trade for the interior, sir, therefore, ought to be established by a permanent law, which would rouze up individual interest, oppose one species of monopoly to another, and put an end to mysterious and clandestine negotiations, the fatal consequences of the present restrictive system. This freedom, as conformable to the principles of justice, as consistent with those of political economy, equally essential to the interests of the fertile as to the sterile parts of the kingdom, affording similar advantage to the grower and consumer, would be one of the most effectual encouragements you could possibly give to the agriculture of Spain.

External Trade.

The same arguments used in support of a free trade for the produce of the soil in the interior, are equally in favour of foreign commerce, and demonstrate that the laws ought to protect a free exportation, as a just right belonging to property, arising either from land or labour, and as a proper encouragement of individual interest. Separating the corn trade, which being different in its nature and relations, should be examined upon different principles; the society feels no hesitation in stating the necessity of a law, which should constantly, and without restriction, protect the free circulation by sea and land of all other productions of the soil. But as our legislature, in general, grants this protection, it will only be necessary here to combat the principles on which it has supported the modification of this liberty, with respect to certain articles.

These are of two kinds: the first comprizes all the productions which, though not of the first necessity, are still of very great utility for the subsistence of the poor, such as oil, meat, and carriage horses. It was supposed, that the best method of insuring plenty was to prevent these articles from being sent out of the kingdom; on this ground their exportation has been prohibited, or they have been taxed with custom-house duties so heavy, or have been subjected to such numerous formalities

formalities in obtaining permission for exporting them, as to be nearly equivalent to absolute prohibition.

The society has elsewhere combated the error, which includes this maxim; and has demonstrated, that the best method of increasing the produce of both land and labour, of whatever kind, would be the encouragement of individual interest, by granting freedom to commerce; for it is as certain on the supposition of this liberty of action, that abundance would be the consequence in all places, where the industry of man could be interested in the cultivation of the soil, and increasing the population of the country; as it has been clearly proved, that no system, no law can guarantee plenty, where the stimulus of personal interest may be wanting.

It is still proper to remark further, that these laws have operated in a manner directly contrary to the proposed end and intention, and produced effects doubly prejudicial to the welfare of such nations, as have had the unhappy policy to enact them; for not only do they diminish the culture of articles which one kingdom might afford to the general consumption of others, but they tend to increase the produce of foreign countries, who unable, owing to the prohibition of exportation, to supply themselves with such articles as they may want from that market, will certainly have recourse to others where exportation is permitted for such supplies; and thus encouragement will be given to the cultivation of those countries which allow a free commerce. The effect is the more certain, because the general policy of Europe has invariably been to facilitate, by every means, the free exportation of its produce: thus our national culture has dwindled and died away, while that of foreign countries has acquired additional nourishment and vigour.

We place too much dependence upon the fertility of our soil, as being naturally and peculiarly adapted for the production of the most valuable fruits and other produce; but if wool be excepted, what other production can Spain boast of, which may not be advantageously cultivated in other countries?

tries? Cannot France and Lombardy encourage the growth of oil, while we discourage it in Andalusia, Navarre, and Estramadura? Could not the cattle of Portugal and Africa be increased, while ours might be languishing and daily decreasing in numbers and quality? But confining our observation to one kind of animals only, could not Portugal increase the number of mares, and in time remount her cavalry with native horses, should we obstinately refuse the exportation of ours into that kingdom? The principle should never be lost sight of, that necessity is the most powerful stimulus to individual interest, as this is also to productive industry.

Articles of primary importance.

This title comprises the second kind of productions subjected to prohibitory or restrictive statutes, which are all that are included under the name of articles of primary consideration. By prohibitions the government has only had the accomplishment of one object in view, that these articles may be plentiful and cheap at home, and scarce and dear abroad; and perhaps that their exportation might entirely cease. Proof has already been advanced to shew, that freedom of trade would be a more direct and certain method than any prohibitions to answer the first intention; and it will now be demonstrated that they are still less calculated to answer the last.

Take for an example fine wools, that is to say, a production generally allowed to belong exclusively to Spain, and to be unattainable by the exertions of all foreign industry. Suppose for a moment, the ports should be finally shut, and that foreign merchants could not take from the country a single ounce of wool, no not aided by a contraband trade. It is certain that the English and French would in that case cease to manufacture superfine cloths, in the making of which Spanish fine wool is an essential material. But would their manufactures be diminished by that event? Certainly not. National industry

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is not necessarily confined to one channel, it has numerous and diversified ramifications. The same capital, the same skill, the same activity, which is employed in the fabrication of one article, while interest calls them to-day, to-morrow would be occupied in a very different concern, if necessity drove them from that in which they had usually been engaged. Is not this daily seen to take place in every variation, that trade experiences by the alteration of fashion, or the changes dictated by the caprice of the consumers? Would genius suffer its sphere to be so confined, that it should not be permitted to exert its powers but only upon such subjects, as would make its activity dependent upon a foreign market?

National industry, sir, can never increase at the expence of agriculture, nor by means so diametrically opposite to its own nature. Without possessing that, who could surpass ourselves in the manufacture of cloth? Does the languishing state in which this branch of trade appears among us arise from the high price or scarcity of wool? Is it not industry which has increased the trade among foreigners, who purchase our wools at an extravagant price; while though we can procure it at one half the value which it costs them, yet are utterly incapable of entering as competitors in the market, either as to the price or quality of the cloth, and are obliged to purchase the manufactured articles of them?

The result most unquestionably would be upon this hypothesis, that the advantages derived from our wools would bear a proportion to the diminution of exportation; for nothing is clearer, or more invariably true in social economy, than the axiom which considers consumption the measure of all culture, of all trade, and of every species of productive industry. When as is generally credited, we shall soon become more industrious, that foreigners will cease to supply our markets with manufactured articles, because we shall manufacture for ourselves, it is laudable to indulge such a hope; but if it be founded upon partial laws and regulations, it is fallacious, it is nothing more than the illusion of zeal, and the reverie of ignorance.

ignorance. It is therefore evident a free external trade for the produce of the land would prove as advantageous to our industry, as it is indispensable for agricultural prosperity.

Corn.

The foreign trade in corn here demands the attention of the society to a question equally delicate and dangerous, through the conflict of discordant opinions in which it has been enveloped. The solution of this problem appears to soar beyond the reach of all the principles and calculations of economic science; and the advantages of freedom here are represented on every side as attended with serious evils, or imminent dangers; as if truth delighted in the disavowal of arguments, which ought to be conclusive. Every instant experience triumphs over systems, facts contradict reasoning; and whatever method is pursued, or whatever side of the question is chosen, the probable inconveniences will more than outbalance the probable advantages; and fear will always more terrify by the former, than hope can possibly flatter by the latter.

But perhaps it will be found this obscuring perplexity is less owing to the uncertainty of the principles than to their misapplication. Men from sloth or pride endeavour to carry the system of generalizing abstract truths to an unreasonable extent, without attending to their application; and wishing for what they have not, and but ill satisfied with what they possess, not content with generalizing *ideas*, they have proceeded so far as to generalize *examples*. The most common mania among politicians is the desire of adapting to a particular country what has succeeded in another period, and a different country; and the example of Holland and England has been sufficient to persuade them, that if a free corn trade were advantageous to those nations, it must be equally so to every other.

But to avoid falling into similar errors, the society not confining its researches to abstract ideas, or to experience, not applicable

plicable to Spain, will proceed to examine this important question, according to our natural situation, and the circumstances in which we are placed; and for the sake of method it will endeavour to resolve these two questions. 1. Is a free exportation necessary for Spain? 2. Is it advantageous? These two questions including every object which legislation can propose to itself, their solution will be sufficient to fulfil your wishes, sir, and those of the society on the subject.

An affirmative answer to the first question would be to suppose that Spain upon the annual average produces not only corn adequate to the consumption of the population, but also a surplus; for in the latter case alone the free exportation of grain would be necessary, that the superfluous quantity of corn raised and not consumed in the kingdom might find a sale in a foreign market. Yet if this superabundant quantity was very small, its influence would operate but in a very insensible manner upon the price of grain, and consequently tend in a very slight degree to discourage agriculture: it follows, therefore, that a free exportation would be esteemed necessary, only when it was highly probable the surplus would be very great.

But does Spain possess such a superabundance? Is there a probability that an annual average surplus might be found in the country? Who can dare to assert, there is and would be? Who has made a valuation of the usual produce and the general consumption? Who has formed an accurate estimate of every kind of farinacious grain? Who has made application of such calculations to the demands of every province and district? And evidently without the aid of such calculations, without having been in possession of their results, and without having drawn up a comparison for the purpose of making a general deduction; how can any persons assert or suppose, that a considerable surplus would be the result of our average crops? It has been ascertained, that certain provinces may annually reckon on having a superabundance of corn; but it is equally ascertained that others, which are the greater number and most

most populous, are constantly in want of the superfluity of the first, not only in ordinary years, but even in the most abundant; and this fact alone is amply sufficient to prove, there exists not the smallest probability of an average surplus throughout the kingdom; nay it proves more, that such a surplus actually does not exist.

The same conclusion will result from reasoning *a posteriori*; for if on one side it is acknowledged that some provinces are ordinarily supplied from foreign markets, it is on the other well known, that no province in ordinary years ever exports corn: and this double observation, easily verified by the custom-house books, demonstrates that no surplus is produced on the annual average crops in Spain. The assertion is corroborated by the price of grain in the same years, which maintained a tolerably high ratio throughout the kingdom. If it was moderate in the provinces of Leon and Old Castile, or if you please very low, in those periods, that might be less owing to a superfluity or a superabundant harvest, after affording a supply to the general consumption, than it might be to the difficulty in conveying it to those provinces experiencing a deficiency; whether by the distance of their situation, the want of proper communications, or by the genius and spirit of our internal trade. The high price corn maintained in some provinces, while it continued so low in others, is itself a proof of what has been just advanced; and another convincing argument will be found in the progressive rise in the rent of land, and the desire every where discoverable to break up pastures and convert them into arable; to which the legislature opposes such numerous and powerful obstacles: these can only arise from the high price of grain. Hence it is fair to conclude that Spain does not upon an annual average possess any superabundance, and consequently leave to export it is entirely unnecessary. But would it be useful? The arguments which will be here adduced will prove the contrary. For though doubtless exportation, by the advance it would occasion in the price of corn, would tend to encourage agriculture; yet it is equally

equally evident on the other hand, that by depriving the country of a portion of corn necessary for its consumption, it would occasion frequent and distressing scarcities; and give a deadly blow to the manufacturing industry of the nation; the reduction of which would prove highly prejudicial to the interests of agriculture.

These rational apprehensions suggested a middle plan of action that appeared likely to guarantee trade from the dangers which might arise from a free exportation; without subjecting commerce to absolute restraint. Having assumed as a maxim that the price was a certain barometer, for measuring the degrees of plenty or scarcity of grain, exportation has been usually regulated by that scale; having been allowed when the index pointed at plenty, and prohibited when it pointed lower on the scale. But two reasons will demonstrate the fallacy and danger of this method of proceeding, adopted by the misleading spirit of imitation.

The society, previously to entering upon an elucidation of the point, must remark, that if this expedient offers advantages on some occasions, it can only be in instances where there exists a strong probability of superfluity. Then the free exportation of corn becomes necessary, that the surplus should be consumed in a foreign country; and the necessity also follows from the same principle, that limits should be prescribed to such liberty, when the price indicates that no superfluity exists. But to establish a free exportation without such a previous probability, would be granting leave to send out of the kingdom, under the specious pretext of superabundance, the corn necessary for the consumption of its inhabitants.

This is not a chimerical danger, it is a real and imminent one; and it forms the first objection against the expedient, which has been proposed. The influence opinion has upon the price of corn is no less weighty in its reduction at the season of harvest, than in its advance at a remote time from it. At the former period the sellers are numerous, and as the disproportion between the corn on sale, and that in demand for immediate

mediate consumption, is great, the idea of superabundance is not less natural than that of scarcity; from its dearness at the second, when there are fewer venders, and a greater relation subsists between the sale and consumption. It might hence so happen, that in the first months after harvest, a part of the corn necessary for home consumption in the last, might be exported; and this would be the more likely, because it is at that season the merchants purchase and hurry their agents that they may be before their rivals in the corn markets.— The second objection is the conclusion that the price is never subject to such fluctuation as when influenced by the dread of scarcity. Then the natural relation existing between the price and the quantity of the commodity in the market instantly ceases; for opinion thenceforward, guided only by fear, and unassisted by hope, forebodes nothing but evil; giving more attention to what it does not, than what it does possess, the affrighted imagination anticipates and magnifies all the horrors of famine. And in such a state of things what influence would not publicity given to exportation, and the high price which would necessarily follow, have upon the public mind? even the precaution of shutting the ports would appear only an acknowledgment and a testimony of the reality of the dreadful scourge with which the country was menaced.

But it may be said, upon a supposition that a free external corn trade were permitted, importation of corn being as much allowed as exportation, the first would heal the wounds inflicted by the second; that the same exorbitant price that hindered the one would encourage the other; that the security, founded upon the basis of reciprocal interest, would not only guarantee the kingdom from the horrors of actual famine, but deliver it from the terrors of its imaginary apprehension. These are excellent reflections in theory! excellent in reality; if the imagination were not more active under the influence of fear and suffering, than when under that of reason and deliberation. But let it be granted that those

fortunate people who dwell where a superfluous quantity of corn renders exportation necessary, according to the system which has been stated; that they discover in exportation the means of profiting by such surplus, well: but to expose ourselves to the chance of experiencing a scarcity of corn, and to be the cause ourselves of this scarcity, under the confidence of being supplied, to have recourse to a remedy so hazardous, so slow, and so precarious; what is it but glaring temerity, or at least, to say the best of it, political imprudence?

The just conclusion therefore is, that considering properly our real situation, the privilege of exporting corn, whether absolute, or restricted by certain regulations, is neither advantageous nor necessary for Spain.

But what should be thought of the importation of corn? It is clear that if we could depend upon growing on an average corn sufficient for our consumption, to permit the introduction of foreign grain would be highly prejudicial to our agriculture; for by this we should reduce the price of our own corn so much more certainly, as the price among us, from whatever causes it arise, is generally and comparatively very high. But not assured of an average sufficiency, it appears impolitic to prohibit importation; for such a prohibition would expose the country to a want of a sufficiency for the supply of its inhabitants, and to all the evils and horrors consequent on such a calamity. Upon this subject the society has nothing to add to what has already been advanced. The same arguments which have justified the conclusion, that the kingdom does not on an average produce more corn than is adequate to its average consumption, equally prove that it does not, or at least we are not assured that it will, produce corn sufficient to supply the wants of the inhabitants: and this consideration is in favour of a free importation.

The society, therefore, thinks it would be proper to enact a law, prohibiting the exportation of our own, and permitting the importation of foreign corn, under the following modifications. 1. The act should be temporary, and limited to a period

riod of short duration, for example eight or ten years; for as our agriculture is evidently making daily progress in improvement, there cannot be a doubt, sir, especially if you remove the fetters which restrain it, that very soon Spain will produce more corn than is necessary for its consumption, and then it would become essential to permit exportation.

The second modification to which the prohibition should be subject is, that it should only extend to wheat, rye, and Indian corn, which are farinaceous substances of the first necessity; and not to barley, rice, beans, or any other kinds of grain; which the cultivators should be allowed at all times to export without restriction or the smallest limitation, and without being obliged to solicit permission, duty free, and subject to no other formality than simply registering an account of such grain at the custom-house; for the purpose of preventing fraud, and enabling government to know precisely the state of exportation.

The third modification is, that the prohibition should not extend to corn destined for the use of our colonies, which should be allowed to pass freely at all times, and from every port appropriated to American commerce. This exception could be attended with no danger, because we actually possess but one principal flour-manufactory, that of *Mouzon;* which situated in the centre of Castile, and forty leagues from Santander, could only export a small quantity, providing wheat was in great abundance; and therefore appears equally essential to the interest of our agriculture and our commerce as necessary to retain those funds in our colonies, with which at the present time we purchase flour from the French and Americans.

The fourth modification is, that if during the above limited period there should occur a very plentiful year, government might suspend for a short time the operation of such a law, by permitting the exportation of corn, at least of the superfluous quantity; whether by opening all the ports of the kingdom, or only those nearest to the superabounding provinces.

Such an exception from the general rule will appear so much the more just, when it is recollected that the produce of a very good harvest generally exceeds that of an ordinary year more than a moiety, and that consumption does not increase in the same proportion; the prohibition of exportation, therefore, in such a case, would hazard the loss to the agricultural interests of such superabundance in years of plenty.

The fifth modification is, that as the importation of foreign corn could not be prejudicial to our agriculture in such years, when though the crops were not superabundant, yet above the ratio of ordinary years; and when, in consequence, it might be proper to confine it within certain limits; then the indication furnished by the price might be followed; a guide as certain in a season when there is no fear of want, as fallacious in a time of real or imaginary scarcity: this might be used for fixing the limits of importation; and when the price of corn became very reduced, it should be then prohibited by a general law.

The sixth modification is, that grain which may have been imported from foreign countries might be allowed to be exported again at any time. This would not only be a just regulation, but proper to encourage importation of corn necessary for our consumption; to afford a circulation to countries experiencing superfluity; and to establish with such countries an economical trade, the advantages of which are amply demonstrated by the conduct of the Dutch.

The seventh modification is, that during the period this law might be in force the utmost exertions should be used for obtaining the necessary information, to enable government at its expiration to adopt some decisive measure upon this important subject, by the enacting of a general and permanent law. And to effect this, endeavours should be used to ascertain the exact quantity of grain raised on the annual average in every province, carefully distinguishing every kind; and also noticing the consumption of the different kinds of corn in the various provinces, by estimating, not merely the general consumption,

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but the particular consumption of each separate district, and each respective class, according as the inhabitants live upon wheat, rye, Indian corn, &c.; and if possible to enumerate such as live upon fine wheaten bread, and those who eat brown and coarser bread. And this calculation, the most important in political arithmetic, the most essential for regulating the principal object of its concern, cannot be made but under the auspices of government, because it possesses the exclusive right of inspecting the different depots, the registers, and public granaries; and it has also the power of obtaining further information from the bishops, deans and chapters, courts and municipalities, comptrollers and magistrates. The more urgent, therefore, and incumbent is it upon the state instantly to engage in this grand and necessary undertaking, by employing persons competent to make the investigations with that promptitude, accuracy, and extent, which is essential to the interests of agriculture, and the welfare of the public.

Taxes considered in Relation to Agriculture.

Previously to coming to a conclusion upon this subject, it will be proper to make a few remarks upon the fiscal laws intended for the advancement of agriculture: a subject equally difficult and delicate, and where silence and discussion are alike attended with danger. But if the society was able to abstract the relations which these laws bear to manufactures, trade, and other branches of public subsistence, could it refuse to examine the influence they produce upon cultivation, when you, sir, have engaged to produce a plan for their reform?

In elucidating the principle which demonstrates agriculture to be the most fruitful source of individual wealth, as well as public revenue; it appears evident, that in order to a state becoming rich, it is essential those employed in cultivation should be so. It cannot be denied that manufactures and commerce open numerous fertile sources of wealth, but then they derive support from agriculture, and are dependent upon

it for their existence. This maxim the society will take occasion hereafter to illustrate; at present it will confine its view to the single idea, that no proposition is more evident in the science of government than this, that the opinion formed respecting the fiscal laws of any country should be founded upon the influence they may have upon the prosperity or decline of agriculture.

Our system of provincial rents clearly and directly opposes this maxim, both by the obstacles which it casts in the way of a free circulation of the produce of the soil, and those which it presents to the interest of farmers and proprietors in general. Let the first of these inconveniencies be here passed over in silence; the baneful effects arising from it must have been anticipated by the observations already made, respecting a free circulation of the articles of culture.

The second inconvenience has given rise to different opinions. Some persons have even maintained, that the system of provincial rents was highly favourable to the cause of agriculture. In the first place, it is contended that this tax falls upon consumption: and being generally proportionate to the means of the consumer, it is natural to suppose such a contribution accords with the equality recommended by justice in the distribution of taxes. Appropriated consequently not only to objects of the first necessity, as those which pay the *millones*, but to all commercial articles subject to the *alcavala*, it is evident that equality is thus best secured: for no article of consumption, whether of luxury or necessity, can either be surcharged, or escape paying duty by this mode of taxation. In short, this contribution being exacted at the time the articles are sold, evidently falls less oppressively upon the farmers and cultivators who pay it, than upon the consumers, who comprise, in general, all classes, and every individual of a state; such are the erroneous views which have led men to adopt this system, not merely as agreeable to justice but as favourable to agriculture.

It will require very few reflections to confute such unsupported

ported assertions. And first, it is true the families who contribute are more or less numerous according to their respective fortunes, and consequently they consume more or less in proportion to the number of persons of which they are composed: but this proportion is by no means equal; for abstractedly from the various nature of the articles consumed, there exists a wide difference in the expenditure of different people. It cannot surely be supposed that every individual expends the whole of his income; it should rather be presumed on the contrary, that many, and especially the wealthy part of the community, by economy make annual savings for the increase of their capital; otherwise no persons would become rich, and nations would not acquire additional wealth and aggrandisement: (and woe to a kingdom that remains stationary in this respect.) Therefore, it is evident all the savings made by economy or parsimony are exempt from the taxes imposed upon articles of consumption. If it could be supposed, which is a thing impossible, that all persons in a state are equally economical, the difference, in that case, would be less between the savings of the rich and those of the poor; and consequently betwixt different proportions of individual fortune exempt from this mode of taxation.

But this inequality would still be greater with respect to the nature of the articles of consumption; for supposing them relatively equal, it is a well known fact that families among the poor and lower classes employ nearly the whole of what they expend in procuring food, and consequently in articles subject to the effect of the *sisas* or *millones*, and import duties; and even what they lay out in the purchase of clothes, indirectly operates as a contribution to this tax; because their clothing almost wholly consists of the national fabrics which have been produced by the labour of other contributors, whose wages constitute the gross sum out of which their portion of taxes is paid. This is not precisely the case with rich families; many foreign commodities enter into their subsistence, viz. tea, coffee, foreign wines, &c. or those of our colonial produce,

viz. sugar, cocoa, &c. &c. this forms the least part of their expenditure; while their heaviest expences are those of dress, and other objects of luxury and convenience, which are nearly all procured from foreign countries; and this, when it is considered what a preference fashion gives to such articles, must make an enormous difference; nor is it possible that the duties on *general rents* should make an adequate compensation for this difference; for that tax is very moderate, when the apprehension of contraband transactions prevents its being laid high; and it is nearly a nullity, when, from a desire to increase it, the facilities of fraud are multiplied.

Secondly, it does not appear, in fact, that duties upon consumption always fall upon the consumers. That only takes place when the seller gives the law to the buyer; because in that case he includes the duty in the purchase money. But when the seller instead of giving, receives the law from the buyer, is it not evident that the latter determined to give the least possible price, the seller must be content with the least possible profit?

This latter case is very common among us; first because the population of the country, at least in some provinces, being relatively more considerable than that of the cities, the sum of provisions supplied by the former must be greater than the demand of the latter; because our subsistence-police and municipal regulations, as before noticed, are more favourable to towns than to the country, lean more to the buyers than the sellers; in a word, because upon the supposition of an overplus, it would be more difficult to obtain consumption in the villages than in cities: a difficulty which increases by the obstacles impeding a free circulation of produce in the interior on the one hand, and their exportation into foreign countries on the other.

Thirdly, one consideration, which is alone sufficient to overturn the idea of equality attributed to this tax, is this; that the very indigent classes, whose subsistence consists of the bare necessaries of life, are not exempt, particularly from the contribution

contribution of the *millones*, which is contrary to every idea of impartial justice; for it is an incontestable principle, or at least a most prudent maxim of economy, equally founded in reason and equity, that every tax should fall upon the superfluities, not upon the necessaries of life; for the smallest portion taken from the necessary subsistence of a family may endanger its ruin, and with it the loss of a contributer, and the prospect of many others. Now in such a case the greater part of the population in the country is found, and especially day labourers, who, in cultivated districts, are the right hand of a country; whence it may easily be discovered how unjust would be any tax upon the provisions they may consume, and what an injury it must be to cultivation, whether by diminishing the number of labourers, or enhancing the price of wages.

Fourthly. Only consider the influence provincial rents have upon agriculture by their power and extent, for they comprise all the most valuable productions subject to the *millones*, such as wine, oil, shambles meat; and those of less value, subject to the *alcavala*, such as fruit, poultry, pulse, salads, and other vegetables; and if any thing further were necessary to produce conviction respecting the power and extent of this influence, look at the multiplicity of burthens with which the above articles are directly or indirectly loaded. For example, in the first place, the pasturage rent, which is termed a fine, for placing themselves under the protection of the alcavala; the cattle afterwards pay a certain sum to the same alcavala, at the time of sale and re-sale, in every market; and again the butcher's-meat pays when it is sold to the consumer. Thus do these kinds of taxes seize the productions of the soil the instant they appear, pursue and toll them in their circulation, without losing sight, and without losing hold of them till the last moment of their consumption: a circumstance, which of itself fully justifies all the reproaches with which this mode of taxation has been branded by Zavala, Ustariz, Ulva, and all our economists who have turned their thoughts to the subject.

Fifthly.

Fifthly. The land itself, the source of these productions, which were there but this motive for it, without alleging so many others, should not be denied circulation, is oppressed by this system. The society could not avoid representing to you, sir, that although the alcavala, in all cases, seems worthy of its barbarous origin, yet it views its operation the most fatal on the sale of estates; for as it is a principle clearly demonstrated, that to tax the produce of the soil is to tax the revenue of the land, and that to tax the revenue of the land is to tax landed property; it appears reasonable, that a system founded upon the taxation of the produce of the soil, and at the same time of its revenue, should at least have spared property, the source of both. But not satisfied with burthening the productions of the earth, either one seventh, as in the millones, or with a fourteenth, as in the alcavala of pasturage, or with a twenty-fifth, as on the articles of general consumption, which pay four per cent. ad valorem; we have taxed the landed revenue a twentieth, under the title of *civil fruits*, and further burthened property itself with a fourteenth, to which is to be added the tenth, in favour of the church, leaving first-fruits out of the enormous catalogue; then see how our fiscal laws have tended to raise the price of territorial property, while their principal aim should have been to maintain it at a moderate ratio for the advantage of agriculture.

The society has before developed the influence this high price has had on the fate of cultivation: yet it is proper here to make two remarks, which more clearly illustrate the baneful effects of the alcavala. The first is, this tax only affects free and commercial property, while unalienable property is exempt; for being only paid at the time of sale, it is impossible that property which cannot be sold should ever pay it. The second remark is, this burthen is more sensible in the circulation of the most valuable portion of this free and saleable property, that is to say, in the conveyance of small estates, not only because they are such as are the oftenest sold; but further, because at every sale a stamped paper is requisite, a record

cord before a notary, and sometimes an appraisement of fixtures and an adjudication, as happens in all sales made by legal authority; the result of which is, that these expences, almost imperceptible in the sale of large estates, become a vast surcharge in that of small ones, which, added to the fourteenth imposed by the alcavala, absorbs a great part of the property, to the serious detriment of agriculture.

Sixthly. Now let a comparison be made between the circumstances of landed, and any other moveable or personal property; and it will afford a convincing proof of the baneful influence provincial rents have upon cultivation. Is it not a fact, that by this system of taxation neither the floating capital employed in trade or commerce, nor the profits arising from it, contribute any thing, at least directly? Is it not true that the capital employed in manufactures and other industrious undertakings do not pay more? Must it not also be acknowledged, that manufacturers are peculiarly favoured, not only in the purchase of the raw materials, and in the sale of their manufactured goods, but also in the consumption of articles necessary for their use, subject to the *millones?* The property belonging to corporations, banks, and public commercial companies, even those entailed to perpetuity, are they not exempt both as to capital and income, while quit-rents, because they appear something like landed property, pay a fourteenth part of their capital at the time of their imposition and redemption, the duty of the alcavala, besides the civil fruits, and the twentieth part of their annual amount? In this view of the case, who would feel disposed to convert their personal into landed property, or devote his stock to the cultivation of the soil? On the contrary, must it not follow as a necessary consequence that most will feel eager to turn their landed property into money, and agriculture must accordingly decline and perish?

It will be said, perhaps, this grievance is not universal; that it does not affect the two provinces of the kingdom of Aragon, which have their cadastre; nor Navarre, and the three provinces

vinces of Biscay, which possess peculiar privileges; nor, in short, the commons of the kingdom of Castile, which have redeemed it by paying a certain annual consideration. But this very difference is a serious evil, both in the view of reason and justice. Are we not children of the same country, denizens of the same kingdom, and members of the same state? Are we not all equally bound to contribute our share to the public revenue of the government which defends and protects our lives and properties? And how can this equality be preserved, when taxation is established upon different and unequal foundations? Even supposing the result were equal as to the sum levied, would there not exist a vast inequality as to the form? Why then should property, the conveyance of estates, the labour they employ, and their various productions be free in some provinces, and enslaved with oppressive imposts in others?

Seventhly. The society cannot omit to mention a remarkable inequality arising out of the exemption granted to the clergy, and to monastic establishments, from contributing to the provincial rents; for either they do not pay, or the money is returned, under the title of *drawbacks for repairs, &c.* In the view of the society nothing can be more just and proper than the personal privileges and official prerogatives granted to the members of this most respectable order of men, whether to maintain their essential dignity, or to enable them to be so isolated from secular concerns, as to devote their time and attention to the duties of their sacred function. But when it is reasonable that every individual, every class, and every order of the state, should contribute to the formation of a public revenue, appropriated to the defence of the kingdom, upon what basis can such an exemption as this be founded? Can such a privilege be granted to one description of persons without oppressing another, and destroying that equality which constitutes the justice and equity in all kinds of taxation?

An objection will probably be urged, that the clergy contribute

bute in other ways, though not in this. Granted: but the society will answer this objection. In fact, if the clergy pay more in other ways, it may be fairly asked, what reason can there be that an order of men so necessary to the state, and so venerable by their function, should contribute more than any other order or class in the community? And if they pay less, what reason exists why an order, rich and endowed with abundant property, and all the members of which are possessed at least with competence, should contribute in a less proportion than the poorer and labouring classes who help to support them?

Not reckoning what the numerous legions of trustees, inspectors, commanders, guards, requisite for the collecting of provincial rents, cost the state, and consequently the individual contributors, who compose it; not to enumerate the oppressive vexations attending this odious police, tax books, domiciliary visits, directors, register-entries, and a thousand other formalities; without including in the account the constant dread inspired by the menaces, the detentions, the legal suits, &c. which take place on the discovery of the slightest fraud or most venial error or omission; without comprising in the calculation the constraint upon the freedom of trade and advantage of communication with the interior resulting from this system, what the society is about to say will be alone sufficient to demonstrate that our fiscal laws, from the relation they bear to agriculture, oppose the most powerful obstacles to the interest of those concerned in cultivation, and consequently strongly tend to impede its prosperity.

It would be too long and tedious a detail to examine fully into the nature and tendency of general rents, considered as they respect the agricultural interest; yet the society cannot avoid remarking on this subject, that to establish them government has ever consulted trade, often the manufacturing interest; but never the prosperity of agriculture. Whether the frontier towns and ports have been opened or shut for exportation or importation, it has always been done with a view

to

to benefit commerce and manufactures, and never for the interest of cultivation and cultivators. Upon this principle it prohibits the exportation of articles of the first consideration, the low price of which is always favourable to manufactures, and thus gives a deadly stab to that agriculture by which they are produced. With a similar view it permits the importation of the like articles in favour of trade, though, evidently at the time, to the prejudice of indigenous culture: and the very principle which has suggested these restraints and encouragements, determines also the taxes and exemptions, the surcharges and the premiums, for the importation or exportation of certain articles.

What is the origin of a system so erroneous? The society will shortly shew; but in the meanwhile it requests you, sir, first to observe that the merchants and tradesmen are a wealthy class, well acquainted with their own interest, and ever combined to promote it; consequently trade is generally carried on in large cities, near the residence of the chief magistrates, in whom it finds protection and encouragement; while agriculture confined to villages, conducted by clowns, and unprotected, possesses neither advocates to plead its cause, nor patrons to obtain the redress of its wrongs: viewing the subject in this light, the solution of the proposed problem will not appear a very difficult task.

SECOND CLASS.

Moral Obstacles, or such as originate in Opinion.

Such, sir, are the principal political obstacles which our laws oppose to the prosperity of our agriculture; and those which arise from opinion and pertain to a moral order, are not less considerable in number and influence. As it would be impossible for the society to enumerate all, or to follow them step by step in detail, the sources of opinion being so exceedingly multifarious, and ofttimes having a latent origin; it will confine

fine its remarks to the most palpable, and the extirpation of which more immediately depends upon your zeal and authority.

Agriculture among any people may be considered under two points of view, either as it respects public prosperity, or individual welfare. Under the first view, it must be allowed that large states, which, like Spain, possess an extensive and fertile territory, ought to regard agriculture as the principal source of their prosperity; for their population and wealth depend more immediately upon this than upon any other branch of productive industry, or than even upon all put together. Under the second view, it cannot be denied but agriculture is the most easy, certain, and grand mean of augmenting the population of a state, and increasing the welfare of every individual, not only by the vast quantity of labour requisite in its different departments; but also the immense employment it affords to those occupied in the manufacturing of its productions. And would policy but turn its attentions to the sublime object proposed by the most enlightened and flourishing nations of antiquity, it must soon be satisfied that the welfare of empires, like that of individuals, is principally founded upon body and mind; that is, the courage and virtue of their citizens. By this it will be verified, that this mother of innocence and honest industry, this parent and inseparable companion of wisdom, as Columella * terms it, is the chief support of the power and the splendour of nations.

It is a deduction made from facts, demonstrated both in ancient and modern history, that opinion may oppose a twofold impediment to agriculture; either by representing it to public authority as a secondary object of legislative favour, and directing its attention to other sources of national wealth; or by affording to culture inefficacious, indirect, or erroneous means

* "Sola res rustica, quæ sine dubitatione proxima, et quasi consanguinea sapientiæ est, tam discentibus ageat, quam magistratris." Columella in prefat.

for

for the purpose of its advancement, and to increase the revenues arising from it; in both these cases the nation and individuals will reap less advantage from agriculture, and consequently the general mass of property will become less. Under this twofold view, the society will investigate the ideas generally adopted upon the subject, and which produce a powerful influence upon cultivation.

First, on the part of Government.

It has been already seen that to the first of these causes belong all those erroneous opinions, whence have originated the various political obstacles already described and combated; for so many laws and regulations for the maintenance of waste lands, pasturage, the inalienability of estates belonging to particular families, and to the clergy, for trade, and manufactures, and the depopulation of villages, to the prejudice of general cultivation, would never have been enacted, had government always been convinced that no department merits equal attention with agriculture, and that it cannot favour others at its expence, without more or less diminishing the chief and most fertile source of national wealth.

If the origin of those erroneous opinions be sought, it will be discovered in a fatal prejudice, deeply rooted for centuries, and which is not yet entirely eradicated from any nation in Europe. In fact, all nations have been desirous of founding their greatness on the extent of their commerce, since they have afforded it especial protection; and as its encouragement depended upon trade, which supported navigation that gave birth to it; the principal attention of modern states has been shewn to manufactures. History written since the fall of the Roman empire, and particularly since the establishment of the Italian republic, and the annihilation of the feudal system, in every page corroborates and confirms this assertion. For many centuries, destructive wars, those horrible scourges of humanity, and enemies of agriculture, had no other aim, than the

the encouragement of trade and commerce. Many centuries did this system preside in the treaties of peace, and direct the current of negotiation. Many centuries did Spain, contaminated by the virus of contagious example, adopt it; and, although continually reminded, that by nature it was formed to be above all others an agricultural nation; it still seemed to have no other visible aim in its discoveries, in its conquests, in its campaigns, in its treaties, in its military or diplomatic capacity, and even in its laws and regulations, than to prefer and protect trade in almost every instance, to the manifest injury of agriculture. How many privileges, either instantly, or by regular proceeding, granted to trade, have led to monopolize the talent, dexterity, and even the freedom of labour! What numerous favours have been bestowed upon commerce and navigation; since the period these, united in vast corporate bodies, employed their artifice and power to maintain and perpetuate the political illusions! Whenever the protection of the crown evinced a partiality in their favour, how did ill-fated agriculture become a butt to every outrage!

In this contradictory system, nothing can appear more absurd than the contempt of a profession, without the assistance of which those very departments, which form the chief objects of national favour, could neither prosper nor be extended. Can a doubt be entertained, but that agriculture, in every point of view, is the primary basis of trade, commerce, and navigation? What but this produces the various substances which trade, manufactures, and commerce put in circulation, and navigation exports? What besides furnishes the strength which supports manufactures and farms, and forms the sinews of trade? How could ever the chimerical hope have been conceived or cherished of contributing, by the discouragement of agriculture, to the progress and advancement of those branches of productive industry, whose prosperity entirely depends upon the increase and multiplication of its productions?

This evil flows from the mania of imitation. The examples

set by the republics in the middle ages, which arrived at a flourishing state without the aid of agriculture, and simply by means of trade and navigation; and that of some ancient nations and modern states, have infested Spain with this fatal pestilence. But how insensible must it be to reason, to be desirous of imitating people, who, for want of territory, were naturally constrained to obtain their subsistence from the feeble and precarious means of commerce; forgetful, in the meanwhile, that the cultivation of a country, so vast and extensive as ours, is the surest and most abundant source of public wealth and individual opulence.

Yet, sir, the trade of any state, without the aid of agriculture, must always be precarious, because ever dependent upon those who may purchase or consume its productions. The commerce of a country must inevitably experience the fate of its manufactures, or must confine itself to a trade of economy; that is to say, the most uncertain of all, and the least advantageous to the welfare of the public. The commerce and trade of a people under such circumstances must depend upon chance, and be subject to revolutions: a war, a treaty of alliance, or of commerce, and even the vicissitudes of fashion, the changes of opinion and manners in other people, may lead to their failure and ruin, and with them the downfal of the state. Thus it was that the glory of Tyre, and the colossal power of Carthage, vanished like the airy visions of a dream, or as volumes of aerial smoke. Thus have disappeared in the trading hemisphere Pisa, Florence, Genoa, and Venice. And thus, perhaps ere long, will the trading greatness of Holland and Geneva be no more; and by their fall, prove that nothing but a respectable agriculture can give to any state permanent power and solid greatness.

The society, by these observations, does not mean to persuade you, sir, that trade and commerce deserve no protection from government; it asserts on the contrary, in the present state of Europe, no nation can be powerful without them, and, destitute of their assistance, itself would languish and perish.

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It only wishes to convince you that a state cannot subsist without the cultivation of the soil, that culture therefore should be the principal object of its care; it wished to demonstrate to you that its prosperity is at once the most direct, certain, and prompt method of producing a powerful trade, and an extensive commerce. Whenever an extended cultivation shall produce abundance of raw materials for the manufacturer, and increase the number of hands necessary for their fabrication, and whenever the plenty afforded by it shall reduce the wages of labour, trade will then possess all the encouragement it can desire; and its progress will advance the commercial interest, which will by these means rival that of other nations in every market. Then the mercantile concern would not be dependent upon government, but place itself under the fostering wing of that equal protection which the legislature of a nation ought to afford to every useful profession. But to grant to commerce and trade peculiar exceptions, and confer on them special favours, to the prejudice of agriculture, is to adopt a reverse route, or seek for the most circuitous, the most oblique, the most perplexing and the most perilous road, to arrive at the destined goal.

How has it happened that a government which has almost uniformly discouraged agriculture, the chief and most essential of all professions, should have been so lavish of encouragements in favour of what must ever be of minor consideration? What enormous sums have been raised, what numerous sacrifices have been made to multiply and increase commercial establishments, to the injury of the agricultural interests! Alas! was it not sufficient to render its condition miserable, by oppressing it with all the taxes and all the services from which the nobility, the clergy, and the classes of inferior rank, are exempted? Was it not enough to oblige it to sustain the burthen of all the exemptions granted in favour of trade, and of all the prohibitory decrees in behalf of commerce? The most severe and expensive charges are fixed upon the cultivators of the soil, by a train of exemptions,

enjoyed by those occupied in other professions. The militia conscription, the quartering of the military, the levies on account of papal bulls and other stamped paper, all burthens in common fall upon the wretched husbandman, while the individuals of every other class are generally allowed to go free. The shepherds, carriers, keepers of studs, are exempt, as though these professions, springing as it were from the very bosom of agriculture, merited more pointed attention and regard than agriculturists! Persons employed in finance, the dealers in tobacco and snuff, sellers of cards, of gunpowder, the collectors of the gabelle, or salt duty, and those employed in a thousand other professions, not less numerous, enjoy immunities and privileges refused to cultivators of the soil. In a word, the ministers of the inquisition, of the crusade of *la Santa Hermandad,* and even the stewards of monasteries, have extorted from government these unjust and scandalous exemptions, which have thrown the whole weight of taxation upon the most important and valuable class of society.

The society does not require that these exemptions should be extended to agriculturists; yet if they might be granted agreeably to the principles of justice, to whom could they be allowed with so much feasible propriety as to those who nourish and support the nation? But it is sensible that the defence of the state is the incumbent duty of all its members, and it would not acknowledge this sacred obligation, if it endeavoured to exempt husbandmen from military service. It is essentially proper they should fly to arms, that they should quit the plough and take up the musket, whenever the safety of their country demands; but is it just, even in most imminent danger, that the villages and country should be depopulated, while the factories, the counting houses, and even the asyla of idleness and sloth swallow up the world?

With a view to banish for ever these destructive opinions, the society wishes you to propagate the study of political economy, a science which teaches the mode of combining public with private interest, of establishing the power and welfare of

of empires upon the permanent base of individual advantages; and which, considering agriculture, trade, and commerce in the relations they bear to these two great objects, fixes the rank each ought to hold in the view of government, and bestows on both the just measure of protection and encouragement; which illuminating the understanding of both legislation and policy, sweeps away all the partial systems, chimerical chemes, absurd opinions, and low and unworthy maxims, which have so often been adopted by legislative authority, and converted what was designed to be a protector and preserver into an instrument of oppression and ruin.

The Influence of Opinion on the Part of those concerned in Agriculture.

The empire of opinion is not less extensive when agriculture is considered as the source of individual wealth. Under this relation it is presented to general view, as the art of cultivating the earth; that is to say, as the chief and most necessary of all human inventions. The society will ascend to the source of those opinions, which have uniformly opposed every species of amelioration; for if it were ever so desirous of minutely investigating the theory of cultivation, how would it be able to follow in detail, link by link, that immense chain of errors and prejudices which has bound it, to the present time, in a long and lamentable state of infancy and thraldom?

If the mass of knowledge essentially requisite for agriculture, even in its rudest state, be considered; if it be recollected that man, after having disputed with savage beasts the domain of nature, compelled one portion to yield implicit obedience to his commands, and the rest to hide in impenetrable woods, or in the caverns of the desert, and that with the assistance afforded from animals domesticated by his power he fells and clears forests, converts heaths and wastes into fertile fields, whose produce supplies his necessities; if the various branches of labour, the different operations which are contrived to fer-

tilize the soil, and render the earth productive, and the instruments and machines invented to facilitate such operations be considered; if the clear foresight with which, among the infinite variety of vegetables he has selected and improved, those best adapted for his support and the nourishment of his cattle * be observed; if the textures for his dress, the furniture of his dwelling, for ornament or use, and even to answer the purposes of his luxury and his vanity, be viewed; if, in short, a reflection be made only on the simplicity of his discoveries, the astonishing facility with which he acquires knowledge, and the dexterity he evinces in applying it to practice; and if, at the same time, it be recollected that all this obtained without the aid of schools, without being apprenticed, that it passes from father to son to the remotest posterity; how admirable is the wisdom of God displayed in this wonderful progress of the human mind? or rather how adorable are the ineffable designs of Providence for the support and multiplication of the human species?

But through all this astonishing progression are discoverable

* Wheat, the general support of man, observes M. de Buffon, is a production for which we are indebted to the progress of human knowledge in the most important of all arts; for wheat has never been found hitherto growing in a wild form in any part of the globe; it is, therefore, a species of grain brought to its present state of perfection by human science and care. It was necessary to select this grain from a mass of others, to sow and reap it a number of times, before it could be ascertained that the increase would always repay the labour and expence, incurred in the manuring and cultivating of the land. Besides, its valuable and wonderful properties of agreeing with all climates, standing, although an annual plant, the chilling severity of winter, scarcely germinating, and preserving a length of time, its nourishing and reproductive powers unchanged, render this the principal of all human discoveries, which, however ancient they may be, agriculture necessarily must have preceded them all. "Epoques de la Nature," Epoque vii. tom. 2. p. 195. See also, upon this subject, the observations of M. Bernardine Saint Pierre, upon the nourishing harmony of vegetables, in his beautiful work, "Etudes de la Nature," Tom. 2, p. 463, edit. 1790.

traces

traces of the indolence of man, and his ingratitude towards his Creator. As vain, weak, and miserable, as he is slothful and indigent, at the very moment that he elevates his mind to investigate the nature and discover the laws of creation, he remains utterly ignorant of the gifts, or despises the bounty, which his Creator has strewed with a most liberal hand, and in the most ample profusion, around his habitation, and beneath his feet. A slight view of agriculture, that occupation which the Deity designed for man from the infancy of the world, will be sufficient to produce a conviction that among the most polished and enlightened nations, even among those who have afforded the most encouragement and protection to the arts; that of cultivating the soil is yet very far from the perfection to which it may easily arrive. Is there a country, to the shame of its science and wealth, which, among the advances in luxury and vanity, has not exhibited reiterated proofs of its indifference in the most important and necessary of all professions? Among what people are not extensive districts seen in a state of nature, or very little better, from an imperfect system of cultivation; and others condemned to perpetual sterility for want of irrigation, draining, or manuring? In what nation does not much remain to be done to improve the implements of husbandry, to perfect the methods of their application, to correct the errors of rustic labour, and amend the faults in agricultural operations? In fine, among what people, or in what country, is this first of all human arts in a lower state of degradation than in our own?

Such, at least, is the state in which it has been found by the society *; and if, for a moment forgetting the progress that has

* Not to advert to the uncultivated districts, it must be allowed, that few nations have such an extent of unproductive lands as Spain: proofs of this assertion may be seen in a thousand places of our agrarian code. Exclusive of 15,527 fanegas, 17,186 acres of land which Ana Bustillos gave, and Quincoses purchased in the seventeenth century, in the vicinity of Xeres, and which occasioned a tedious and expensive law-suit, equally

has been lately made, we look at the immense extent of road before us, we shall be obliged to confess our negligence and sloth, that our agriculture is vastly behind that of other countries, and how evident over the face of the country is the necessity for amelioration? Where exists the cause of so destructive and far-felt a system? Abstractedly from political obstacles, which have already been detailed, the society cannot discover it in the moral view of the subject, unless in the want of that instruction and knowledge which have the most intimate connection with agricultural improvements. Let us then endeavour to apply a prompt remedy to this evil, by attempting to supply the deficiency.

Complaints against this negligence, and this ignorance, are as general as they are ancient. Centuries ago Columella complained at Rome, that while every kind of science and art had its professor's chair for instruction, not excepting the vilest and most insignificant, agriculture stood alone without a tutor, or a pupil. "Without many such arts and sciences, he observes, and even without advocates, Italy was formerly

equally opposite to the interest of the state and the public faith; it appears, by that suit, there still remained, in the environs of the same place, an immense extent of waste lands. In the district of Utrera, after Don Luis Curiel, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, had allotted an enormous quantity, there then remained 21,000 fanegas. In the district of Ciudad Rodrigo, 110 deserted hamlets are enumerated, and 30,000 fanegas of land, devoid of culture. The quantity in the neighbourhood of Salamanca is not much less, notwithstanding the efforts of its population committee. How much is there in Estremadura! read what Zavala observed of the districts in that province; in Badajoz only, he reckoned an extent of grass common, 26 leagues in length, by 12 in breadth, comprising land adapted for culture; not to mention the heath land which occupies one third of the province. But what further need of pointing out instances? Catalonia itself, the industrious and wealthy Catalonia, has 288 deserted hamlets. Here see the destructive effects of our laws and our opinions! Who can behold without horror, without the most poignant feeling, such a destructive neglect and dereliction of land, amidst the poverty and depopulation of this once fertile country?

happy,

happy, and many nations are so still; but it is absolutely certain that no country can be so, or even exist without agriculture*." The modern Columella, Herrera, the celebrated Diego Deza, and numerous other patriotic Spanish writers of the sixteenth century, pointed out the utility and necessity of establishing agricultural academies, and appointing professors in the science of cultivation. And this plan, so often subsequently urged, is again produced in the business which relates to agrarian law.

The society cannot but applaud the zeal of those highly respectable Spaniards; but it would wish the accomplishment of its aim by a more certain, safe, and easy method. It seems probable that any attempt would prove nugatory to extend rural knowledge among farmers by theoretic instruction; and still less likely would it be to obtain the desired object by academic dissertations. Not that it censures such attempts, but it conceives they are inadequate to produce the proposed end. Agriculture does not stand in need of pupils, who have frequented the dusty benches of the schools, nor learned doctors, who dictate their soaring lectures from professional chairs; but active and expert men, who know how to manure, to till, to sow, to reap, to thrash, to winnow, to improve and preserve the produce of the soil; objects the most distant from the spirit of the schools, and which cannot be learned or taught by scientific lectures or verbal instruction.

Agriculture is an art, but every art derives its principles from the theory of science. In this view of the subject the theory of cultivating the ground may be as vast as it is complex; for agriculture consists rather in the assemblage of a number of different arts than in one single art alone. The agricultural improvement, therefore, of a nation depends in some degree upon the extent of that varied knowledge, from

* Nam sine ludicris artibus, atque etiam, sine causidicis, olim satis felices fuere, futuraque sunt urbes: at sine agricultoribus nec consistere mortales, nec ali posse, manifestum est. Columella in præf.

which

which the art of culture evidently is derived. In fact it is decidedly clear, that a nation acquainted with the theoretic principles of cultivation, in its attempts at improvement will have more prospect of success, than one where these principles are generally unknown.

From this reasoning results a truth, as lamentable as it is disgraceful to us. What a deplorable negligence does there exist in our system of public education! It actually appears that we have endeavoured as earnestly to diminish useful instruction, as to multiply institutions for the attainment of unprofitable science.

The society, sir, is far, very far from refusing its share of esteem and regard to intellectual sciences, and more especially to those which have for their objects the sublime mysteries. The science of religion, which leads man to understand the essence, being, and attributes of his Creator; morals, which teach him the knowledge of himself, and which guide him in the paths of virtue, will appear always laudable among nations, who have once experienced the felicity of respecting these great and important objects. But as all other sciences tend to increase the temporal happiness of man, how has it happened that while we have forgotten the most essential to obtain this end, we have been cultivating with so much ardour the most unprofitable, and even the most destructive, kinds of knowledge?

The mania of regarding intellectual science as the sole object of public instruction, is perhaps of less ancient date than is generally supposed.*

Instruction in the liberal arts was the principal business of the primitive schools, and even at the revival of learning, both government and the learned, endeavouring to excel each other in what was laudable, strove to propagate the study of useful knowledge, that is to say, sound and natural instruction. Not one of the ancient institutions of learning, but has produced men of celebrity in physical and mathe-

* See Statute the first, tit. 3 of the twelfth part.

matical

matical science; and what at that period was still more singular, men who by applying the principles of theory to practice, made their knowledge subservient to profitable uses and the welfare of mankind. What a multitude of examples in support of this position, were it the intention of this memoir, could the society produce? Suffice it to say, that when master Esquivel, by a trigonometrical survey, according to the system of mensuration laid down by Reggio Montano, measured the surface of the Spanish empire, and formed the most scientific and complete system of national geography any country ever produced;* when the learned Valla and Mercado applied the physical

* Ambrosio de Morales, in his treatise on Spanish antiquities, speaks of this work, which was undertaken by the command of Philip the Second. That author informs us, Pierre Esquivel not only availed himself in his survey of the triangular method invented by Reggio Montano; but that he also fixed the standard of the Spanish foot, and its relative extent with the Roman foot, by means of mile stones, discovered on the *ancient military roads*; and that he also contrived many new instruments to ascertain the results of his operations. And that no doubt can remain upon this subject, the testimony of don Philip de Guevara, the celebrated geometrician and antiquary, will demonstratively shew. Speaking to Philip the Second, he reminded that monarch of a description of the earth by Marcus Agrippa, hung up in the portico of Octavus at Rome, by his valuable father Augustus. He adds, in imitation of such an august example, "Your majesty will be able to set up in a most conspicuous place the description and delineation of Spain, which, by the command and at the expence of your majesty, the great geometrician Esquivel *has nearly completed.* For certainly among all the great undertakings which your majesty may justly boast of having accomplished, and which will render your name glorious and immortalize your fame, there is not a thing performed by the hand of man that can surpass this magnificent and learned work, if your majesty will deign to permit the details of this description of this celebrated peninsula, drawn up under your auspices, to descend to posterity. Your majesty is not impeded by the considerations that might deter other monarchs from publishing works of a similar kind. It is proper to add, what may be asserted without fear of contradiction, that no country has been surveyed with such attention, skill, and accuracy, since the creation of the world. For the descriptions and draughts

physical learning and knowledge of nature to heal the maladies which afflicted the provinces; when the indefatigable Laguno travelled into distant countries, and with the works of Dioscorides in his hand, studied botany and other parts of natural history in the fertile countries of Greece and Egypt; the celebrated Alonso d'Herrera, patronized by the Cardinal Cisneros, had already informed his contemporaries and countrymen all that the Greeks and Latins had known of agriculture both in theory and practice, all that the natural philosophers of that æra and the most learned of his own time had discovered respecting the cultivation of the earth*. These important pursuits

draughts we possess, made by Ptolomy and other geographers, were for the greater part drawn up from the vague reports of the inhabitants, or from previous and erroneous accounts; *while in the description of Spain written by order of your majesty, there is not an inch of land in your kingdom which has not been seen, surveyed and delineated by Master Esquivel, who ascertained the whole with his own eyes, as far as the exactness of mathematical instruments would permit.*" See the discourses of Morales, quoted, and the Commentaries upon the portrait of Philip Guevera. This learned and magnificent work, the effect of extraordinary science, and unwearied assiduity, was sent to the king on the decease of Esquivel, or rather when it was not known what was become of him; and it is perhaps difficult to decide, whether it be more glorious for us to have undertaken and executed such a work, or disgraceful to have forgotten that it existed, and suffered it to perish.

* Although the treatise on agriculture by Herrera may be rather considered a compilation than an original work; yet in three points of view it is superior to other works written at the same period. The first is the vast erudition it displays, which appears not only by the frequent quotations from all authors upon agriculture then known; among Grecian, Hesiod, Theophrastus, Aristotle, Dioscorides, and Galen; of Latin, Cato, Varro, Columella, Palladius, Pliny, Virgil, and Macrobius; of Arabic, Averroes, Avicenna, and Abenzenef; among the moderns, Crescentius, Barthelemy d'Angleterre, Vicentin, &c.; and further by the long passages he has quoted or translated from these authors, and which he often refutes by able reasoning; and especially the confidence with which he speaks, that shews he had read them all, as may be collected from the following passage. "I think," says he, chap. 39. liv. 4, in speaking of the *alberge*, a kind

suits have been neglected without others having made any useful progress. The sciences among us have ceased to be considered as the methods of discovering truth; they are converted into means of learning to live; scholars are multiplied, and with them has advanced the imperfection of learning. Similar to those insects, which, bred in putrefaction, only serve to increase it, the schoolmen, the civilians, the casuists, and ignorant professors of intellectual science, have corrupted by their infectious breath the principles it esteems, and even destroyed the monuments of useful knowledge.

Deign, sir, to establish the liberal sciences in their pristine lustre; deign further to afford them protection, and agriculture will then flourish. Sciences would improve its instruments and machines, advance its economy and its calculations, and open a free access to the study of nature; these, whose object is the contemplation of the works of our universal mother, would demonstrate her immense power and wealth; and Spain, aided by both, would know the extent of those blessings which it is constantly losing for want of an acquaintance with the surprising fertility of the soil, and the geniality of the climate which has been bestowed by the bounty of Providence. Natural

a kind of peach, "the Arabs imported it from foreign clime; for to the best of my recollection I have not found it noticed in any ancient author, either Greek or Latin, nor among the moderns, not even in medical writings, except in those written by the Arabs; for which reason I conclude it is not indigenous in cold and northerly countries." Secondly, he travelled a great deal to learn the rural systems and practices in foreign countries, some of which he frequently proposed as models, having witnessed their utility in Dauphiny and other provinces of France, in Lombardy and in the Campagna di Roma, in Piedmont, and even Germany. Thirdly, although he derived most of his practical knowledge from the district of Talavera, where he chiefly resided; he had also seen and observed the rural economy of the rest of Spain, and noticed the agricultural practices of the Arabs in Granada, whose flourishing and productive culture often furnishes him with a fine subject of eulogy. What is here stated in favour of our provincial writer on agricultural subjects, will be sufficient to appreciate the labour and merit of his admirable work.

history

history would develop by exhibiting the wonderful productions of the earth, new kinds of grain, new fruits, new trees, new plants of multifarious descriptions to be naturalized and cultivated, new species of animals, which, when domesticated, might supply our provinces. Aided by their labours it might discover new methods of mixing, manuring, and preparing the soil, and breaking up and cultivating waste lands. The improvements arising from water, irrigation, the amelioration, and preservation of fruits; the construction of vaults, and granaries, of mills and presses; in a word, the immense variety of arts, subordinate and auxiliary to agriculture, at present under the control and influence of a blind and wretched routine, would be highly improved, being enlightened by that knowledge which only can be termed useful, when man is enabled by its application to increase the means of supplying his wants.

Although this influence is so palpable, many regard the sciences with an eye of contempt; as not being calculated for rustic and unlettered people, they think them only fit for the studious; and that they only serve to fill the minds of the learned with pride and arrogance. The society voluntarily acknowledge there is much justice in this reproach; and that nothing tends so much to prevent the propagation of useful knowledge, as the scientific hauteur discoverable in the professors of those sciences. Looking at their nomenclatures, rules, and all the apparatus of their instruction, it might be supposed that they had conspired to place them in the most unfavourable point of view, that is to say, by representing them as a kind of secret and mysterious learning, incomprehensible to vulgar understandings, and inaccessible to common sense.

But notwithstanding this abuse, the great utility of the sciences must be acknowledged. It is impossible that any nation should possess them in any degree of perfection, without letting some rays of light escape among the very lowest classes of the people; for the flood of knowledge, if such an expression be admissible, flows and communicates from one

class

class to another, and divides and ramifies in its course, till it runs by the door of the most humble cottage. Thus it is that the husbandman and the artizan, without understanding the mysterious language of chemistry in the analysis of marle, or the researches of the natural philosopher, in describing the mechanism of its formation; by knowing its usefulness for fertilizing the soil, and the scouring of wools, is in possession of every thing, as to utility, which science has discovered upon the subject.

Is it possible to remove this barrier, this wall of separation, which literary pride has set up between those who study and those occupied in labour? Could not a method be devised of uniting the wisdom of artizans and the chief aim and intention of science? In what does the separation consist, but the distance at which one is kept from the other? Could not an advantageous union be formed between them, if instruction and interest were placed nearer together? Here, sir, is a subject worthy of your paternal care: the society will point out to you two methods of accomplishing this object; which in its view appear extremely simple.

I. *Means of removing both.*

The first method is to diffuse useful knowledge among the proprietary classes. Far be it from the society to deprive any individual in the state of the right of studying the sciences; but why should it not wish to see them cultivated by those who might be able to make the most useful application? When once landed proprietors were instructed, would it not be their own interest, and perhaps their pride might induce them, to try experiments, and make trial of plans for improvement upon their estates by an application of the knowledge they had obtained, and the adoption of new discoveries, and eligible modes of practice, followed in other countries? When they had arrived thus far, might it not at least be probable, that their example and advice would lead farmers to copy and to participate in the benefits, which they saw resulting from such

such a system of amelioration? Let the cultivators of the soil be the allowed slaves of the prejudices they have traditionally imbibed, and that they are incapable of comprehending what they would even wish to do; but from this very cause they are more likely to feel the impulse communicated by the consideration of self interest and individual profit. Pride among the learned deprives them of this docility; but only reflect for a moment on the immense mass of information which agriculture has accumulated among the less enlightened classes of those employed in the concern; and you will at once discover, that it every where arises from the docility of cultivators.

II. *By instructing proprietors.*

For the purpose of affording the requisite instruction to proprietors, the society does not propose to found colleges, as difficult to erect and endow, as their utility is problematical after they are erected. To improve the system of education, and further the means of instruction, the society would not have the children separated from their parents, rendering lukewarm, at once the tenderness of the one, and the respect of the other; it would not wish to have youth taken from under the protection of parental attention and vigilance, and delivered to the care of mercenary strangers; physical and moral education is the province of parents; it is their incumbent duty, and never can properly be performed by others. It is right that literary instruction should be placed under the inspection of government; but colleges and other expensive establishments would not be so necessary among us, if the number of schools for useful information were increased. The nation, sir, looks up to you for the increase of such establishments; for without the emancipation of their children from the yoke of the present system of education, parents will in vain expect to see the wishes of nature and religion gratified in this most important of all considerations.

The society does not propose that these new institutions should

should be incorporated with our ancient universities. For so long as they continue to be what they are, and always have been; so long as scholastic philosophy prevails in them; accurate and natural sciences can never radicate. The aim, the character, the method, and spirit, which are the very soul of these sciences, are entirely different from the principles of the schools, and incompatible with them; a fact confirmed by long and melancholy experience. Perhaps it would not be impossible to unite intellectual science with that capable of demonstration; perhaps this fortunate alliance may some time become the object of the attention you pay, sir, to the reformation of instruction; but to accomplish this aim of our most ardent wishes, the whole system of study must be reversed, and the actual form of the superstructure changed from its foundations; and in this view the society wishes rather to build up than to destroy.

The society will content itself with proposing to you the multiplication of academies for instruction in useful knowledge in every city and considerable town, that is to say, in those where the proprietary classes are numerous and wealthy. As this is an object of public and general utility, there should be no hesitation in assigning endowments to such institutions, from the revenues of those cities, or towns, or others of the surrounding district: an endowment which it would be so much more easy to obtain and regulate, because the professors, as they are in other countries, would and ought to be paid by their pupils; and government would only have to be at the expence of erecting buildings, and purchasing instruments, machines, books, and other analogous articles: besides, the endowments of many institutions, whose inutility is notorious, might be appropriated to found the more profitable establishments here recommended. So many Latin masters, the vestiges of an ancient and absurd philosophy, which every where have been publicly set up against the spirit and letter of our constitutional laws; so many professors, who have only served to induce those youths to engage in a literary career, whom

nature and prudence designed for useful trades; and to crowd and bury them among the sterile classes, by preventing their engaging in profitable professions; in fine, so many establishments to which is owing the superfluous number of clergy, monks, physicians, lawyers, registers, sacrists, &c.; and the scarcity of carmen, sailors, artizans, and husbandmen: would it not be far more eligible to suppress these useless, or rather injurious establishments, and apply their revenues to the endowment of institutions for rational and profitable instruction?

You need not be apprehensive, sir, that the multiplication of these academies or colleges, although they were open to all the world, as they ought to be, would produce a superabundance of professors; for scholars do not multiply on account of the facilities afforded to study, but the ben efits to be derived from it. Divinity, medicine, and law, hold out for students in those faculties lucrative situations, which induce so many to devote themselves to the attainment of such kind of learning. Unfortunately other and not less useful sciences present no such attractive motives, nor promise such stimulating rewards. And still further, the utility of these sciences is so extensively great, that a superabundance of geometricians and natural philosophers would be highly advantageous to the nation; while that of professors in faculties, professedly intellectual, can only increase the number of worms which prey upon the vitals of the state; and bring those very professions into contempt: as the great politician Saavedra properly remarked of them two centuries ago.

To the intent that these proposed establishments might become actually useful, there should be drawn up good elementary treatises on mathematical and physical science, and especially the latter; which should comprise all the facts and information calculated to become useful and applicable to the practices of civil and private life, and which might withdraw the public attention from so many objects of vain research and dangerous investigation, that literary vanity has substituted in the place of useful enquiry. Would you deign, sir, to offer a good premium,

premium, beneficial as well as honourable to the person who should arrange and digest such an important work, a doubt could not be entertained but that a number of scientific men would become candidates: for Spain is not destitute of men who would endeavour to obtain such a distinguished recompence, and who would aspire to the honour of becoming instructors of the national youth.

III. *By instructing Cultivators.*

The second mean of reconciling science and interest consists in the instruction of those employed in cultivation. To make them subject to a routine of studies would be ridiculous; but it could not surely be absurd to place in their view the results of them; and this is all that is required. The aim of such an undertaking is great, but the means of its accomplishment are very simple and easy. Nothing more is necessary than to diminish the ignorance of those occupied in the cultivation of the soil, or, to speak more accurately, to augment and improve the sources of their information. The society merely wishes, that all should learn to read, write, and cipher. What an expansive sphere would this knowledge, at once so simple and sublime, afford to human intelligence? It requires that all persons employed in culture should have an opportunity of acquiring a knowledge so essential to enable every man to improve his understanding, so useful to the master of a family for the management of both his civil and domestic concerns; and so important to government for the amelioration of the minds and manners of its citizens. It would be proper to place within the reach of husbandmen and artificers, not only the sublime truths of religion and morals; but further all those physical phœnomena, which are simple and of easy comprehension, and on which frequently depend the improvements in mechanic arts. It would be necessary for this purpose to present to their view the results and discoveries of the most complex sciences, but stripped of the obscuring apparel

of scientific language, and arranged in such clear and simple propositions, that the most unlearned man might be able to comprehend, after he had improved the means of understanding them.

Multiply, sir, elementary schools; let no parish, no village, be destitute of one; let no individual exist, however poor or unfortunate he may be, that may not be able, free of expence, to obtain this necessary instruction. If the state does not owe this assistance to all its members, it owes it to itself, as the most simple plan of obtaining honour and aggrandisement. And is it not lamentable, is it not scandalous, to see a branch of instruction so general, so useful, so essentially necessary, entirely forgotten or neglected; while protection is afforded to so many institutions of partial instruction, to useless at best, but in many instances, prejudicial establishments?

Fortunately, nothing is of easier attainment than learning to read and write; and this kind of knowledge is not more difficult to communicate than to acquire. Learned men are not required for masters, nor expensive appointments for their remuneration; they should be plain, industrious, virtuous persons, who know how to respect innocence, and would find their pleasure in its instruction. The society, nevertheless, regards this function of such importance, that it would not like to see it conferred on any but ministers of the church. So far from being foreign to the sacred profession, it appears to identify itself with that spirit of mildness and charity which characterizes our clergy, and peculiarly to accord with the nature of their profession, public instruction. Should it be found inconvenient to commit this department to those who might have the care of souls, a priest appointed in every village, or parish, however small, remunerated out of the tythes paid to bishops, chapters, and great beneficiaries, might take the charge of instruction, under the superintendance of the curates and magistrates of the respective places.

What object more commendable than this could be presented to the attention of our venerable prelates, and our worthy

worthy civil magistrates? How much would this establishment be benefited, when the system of education, and books for instruction, were improved? Would it not inculcate to the utmost the doctrines of the Bible, extend the influence of moral principles, and aid both civil and religious obligation? How many errors and dangerous snares would it not prevent thousands from falling into, by dissipating the profound mental ignorance they generally discover respecting subjects of the highest consideration? Would to God that we had not so many horrible and awful examples of the ill use which impiety, as well as misguided zeal, has an opportunity to make of the simplicity and unwariness of an ignorant and uninformed people!

The proprietors becoming acquainted with the elements of useful science, and the cultivators of the soil initiated in the art of participating in the knowledge of the former, it would quickly be apparent what inexpressible advantages would accrue to agriculture, trade, and manufactures. To attain this desirable end nothing more would be necessary than that the learned should cease from their vain researches and useless investigations, the result of which merely amounts to a proud and barren science; that they would have no other pursuit, but the discovery of profitable truths, and then so to simplify, arrange and describe them as to adapt them to the capacity of unlettered men: and thus extirpate for ever those monstrous and absurd prejudices, which for ages have placed insurmountable obstacles to improvement in the arts, and especially to that of cultivating the soil.

IV. *The drawing up and publishing of rural Compendiaries.*

The society directing its chief attention to this object, is of opinion that the most simple and effectual method of communicating the results of useful science among cultivators of the ground, and of extending the influence of such communications, would be to circulate technical catechisms or compen-

diaries, drawn up in a plain and perspicuous style, adapted to the capacities of husbandmen; treatises that would explain the best manners of preparing lands, the proper time of sowing, and the seeds best calculated for the soil; the most eligible usages, as to sowing, reaping, and cleaning corn; the best methods of protecting and subsequently preserving the productions of the earth, and converting them into liquid or farinacious matters; that would describe agricultural implements and machines, and the most easy and advantageous manner of applying them to practice; in a word, that should point out, as though it were with a finger, all the good systems of husbandry, all the improvements, all the resources, and the whole extent and capability of agricultural progression.

The society does not mean, that these compendiaries should be learned in schools, where instruction should be restricted to teaching to read, write, and cipher; with the elementary principles before described. It is still farther from its wishes that the cultivators of the soil should be forced to read them, much less be compelled to comply with the maxims and practices they might contain, because the utility of any plan is destroyed by obligation. It desires only, that there may be persons found, who would undertake to convince husbandmen of the advantages which they would derive from adopting the plans, and conforming to the maxims contained in such treatises on rural economy; and the society expects this would be the case immediately from the interest of the proprietors, who having had their minds enlightened, would easily discover how profitable it would be to themselves to communicate and propagate agricultural information.

And why should similar expectations not be realized by the zeal of the resident clergy? Alas! would to heaven that the knowledge of useful science were become universal among the resident clergy, bythese men, so valuable and important to the nation, imbibing its principles! Would to heaven such kinds of profitable learning were become general among them that they might assume the characters of parents and instructors of the

the persons confided to their care. Then, happy people!* thrice happy, when their pastors, after having previously shown them the road to eternal felicity, should explain to them the method of obtaining plenty for the supply of their bodily wants, and demonstrate that the happiness man can enjoy on earth is, and only can be, the fruit of perseverance in labour and honest industry. Happy then also would the clergy be who, destined to live a solitary life in the country, would find in the study of useful science those attractive pleasures which give a peculiar relish to life; in the midst of the vast spectacle of nature enable them to enjoy those delights which would elevate their hearts to the Creator, expand the mind by that most captivating of all virtues, charming gratitude, and that most engaging of their ministry, lovely charity.

More still, sir, may be expected from the zeal and energy of patriotic societies. Although comparatively in a state of infancy, and devoid of protection and encouragement, what advantages would not agriculture have already derived from their exertions, if persons employed in cultivation had profited by their information and advice? They have, from the time of their establishment, laboured incessantly; they have employed both their learning and zeal to improve the useful arts, and more especially agriculture, the principal object of their vigilance and care.

Notwithstanding, they have been persecuted by sloth and ignorance, despised and insulted by inveterate prejudice, and rancorous envy; yet how many useful experiments have they made? What numerous subjects, and what important facts

* The celebrated Linnæus entertained the same sentiment, "Qui ecclesiis præficiuntur, si scientiarum istarum lumine ipsi gauderent, brevi completam patriæ nostræ agnitionem, immo summum perfectionis fastigium sperandum haberemus." *De fundamento scientiæ œconomicæ e physica, et scientia naturali petenda.* We should wait for an elucidation of this subject, equally sound and solid, consonant to faith and reason, in a dissertation written by a learned and zealous ecclesiastic, which received the premium of the Biscayan society, and shortly will be published.

have they not examined and communicated to the public? Their extracts, their reports, their memoirs, their dissertations, distinguished by honorary rewards which have been published, afford abundant proof that in the very limited time elapsed since their institution, more valuable information has been communicated to the world upon those subjects essentially connected with a nation's welfare than in the two preceding centuries. Having performed such important services, unaided by the succour of useful science, destitute of protection, devoid of proper means, and even without the support of public opinion; what would they in all human probability accomplish in a period when the principles of mathematical and natural science should be every where promulgated and received, and the people placed in a state capable of receiving their instruction would employ themselves in uniting knowledge and interest, which ought to be the chief object of every government?

These alone, sir, would diffuse the knowledge of political and rural economy through the kingdom, and banish for ever those false prejudices, and extirpate those fatal opinions, which produce and support ignorance of principle; those alone, in the course of time, would draw up and publish the rural catechisms, or compendiaries, already recommended. The labours of isolated learned men could not have the same beneficial influence upon popular instruction, whether because confined to their study they seldom form any estimate on local inconveniencies, or calculate the results of observation and experience; or whether by generalizing too much the consequences of experiments, they produce an uncertain light, which conducts the mind more frequently by the meanderings of error, than in the direction of truth. These societies avoid equally both inconveniencies. Established in the different provinces, composed of proprietors, magistrates, literary men, farmers, and manufacturers, who inhabit different districts; the members combine, as it were, at once, all the light which can be thrown upon the subject by study and experiment, elucidated

cidated and ascertained by repeated essay, and by continual discussion and general conference. How then could they fail to propagate useful knowledge among every class of the community?

Here then, sir, see the simple and easy method of advancing public instruction, of diffusing through the whole kingdom useful knowledge, of surmounting all the obstacles arising from opinions, which impede the progress of an ameliorated cultivation, and enlightening the minds of those destined for its improvement. If, then, any thing yet remains to be done for the accomplishment of our wishes, it must be to remove the natural and physical obstacles which arrest its progress;—this will form the third and last part of this memoir, which we will endeavour to make as brief as perspicuity will admit.

THIRD CLASS.

Physical Obstacles, or those derived from Nature.

Although the employment of every cultivator of the soil engages him in a constant strife against nature, who, if left to her own spontaneous energies, would produce only heath and other useless plants, and affords nothing very valuable without labour and culture; yet frequently where these are employed, there exist certain obstacles which are not to be overcome by individual exertion, and only can be surmounted by the united strength of a number of persons. The inability which individuals discovered of rising superior to these difficulties was probably what first excited in their breasts the mutual idea of a joint interest, and formed the original inducement of the assembling in colonies, and approximating in hamlets, for the purposes of united labour; this is, therefore, one of the principal objects of political societies, and the chief and most sacred of all their duties.

Nature, doubtless, owes to this necessity many of her improvements. Wherever you turn your eyes, her scenery and productions

productions are improved by the hand of man. On every side will you discover forests cleared, the savage beasts tamed, or incarcerated in their dens, morasses drained, rivers confined within their banks, the very sea limited by artificial bounds, the surface of the earth cultivated, filled with farms, villages, handsome towns, and magnificent cities; every where she exhibits a spectacle of the wonderful monuments of human art and industry, and the exertions of general interest to protect and encourage that of individuals.

It has already been observed, there is no nation existing, even the most opulent and the most polished, which has paid to this subject all the attention it deserves, and so imperiously demands. Granted that all have been engaged in the work; but still much remains to be done to remove those physical obstacles which retard their prosperity; and perhaps the least equivocal mark of the progress in civilization is the degree of attention given to this reform in any one country.

In Holland, where the most considerable cities and towns are built upon ground regained from the ocean, where the land is divided by numerous canals, a country which naturally was nothing more than a sterile and unproductive morass, and which has been converted into a garden equally delightful and prolific, affords a fine specimen of what human genius and art can do in the improvement of nature: while other nations, favoured by the goodness of their climate and the fertility of their soil, present to the traveller immense tracts of land, either naked and waste, covered with heath and wood, reduced to desert commons, or abandoned to hopeless and endless sterility: striking and lamentable examples of their ignorance and inattention, of their sloth and negligence.

Without entering into a statistical comparison of the different nations upon earth, the society simply means to point out the physical obstacles which among us retard the progress of agriculture, and which may lead you to see, in its true point of view, an object so important, and which the laws so strongly recommend.

These obstacles are of two kinds; the one is directly in opposition

opposition to agricultural advancement; the other, by impeding a free circulation and sale of its productions, indirectly produces similar consequences. The society will dwell a little upon the first, not that it is ignorant numerous morasses want draining, rivers still remain to be rendered navigable, forests need clearing, and vast quantities of waste lands ought to be put in a state of cultivation; but such obstacles are apparent to the whole world, and the complaints of the provinces will lay those grievances before you. The society wishes to add a few words upon irrigation, which is nearly connected with this subject, and merits the most serious attention.

Neglect of Irrigation.

Irrigation solicits every attention of public authority upon two particular points; its necessity, and its difficulty. Its necessity is manifest in Spain, because the soil is generally dry, and the climate warm; and consequently a large quantity of land must be assisted by irrigation, or it will yield nothing, or, what is next to nothing, a bad pasturage. In the northern provinces, situated at the foot of the Pyrenees, and the mountainous country branching from that alpine chain, which extends far into the interior of Spain, scarcely a district can be found where irrigation would not multiply threefold the produce of the soil: and as every thing tending to this increase must be considered essential, then doubtless we should regard irrigation as an object of general utility.

But, sir, what renders this still more worthy of your attention is the great difficulty of putting the system in general practice. Where the rivers run through a level country, where to practice irrigation only requires to cut small channels to permit the water to flow over the arable lands; as for example, in the champaign country of Ezla and Orbigo, and in many other plains and valleys of Spain, nothing can be required from government on the subject. Irrigation, in such instances, lying within the reach of individual capital, its practice

tice is in the power of individuals, and there cannot be a doubt that landholders and farmers, stimulated by private interest, would adopt the system, if not prevented by the laws; for it is a permanent maxim in political economy, that the duties of government should commence where individual power terminates.

But, except these fortunate districts, irrigation requires much labour and heavy and continual expence. Spain is a country very varied and mountainous; the rivers are deep and their currents rapid. It will be necessary, therefore, to fortify their banks, and narrow their beds, increase the number of deep canals, extend their level reaches by means of sluices, or by lowering the ground in some places, and raising it in others, or cutting through mountains, so that water may be conducted to such lands as necessarily want irrigation. Andalusia, Estremadura, and nearly the whole of la Mancha, are naturally in this predicament, not to mention the kingdom of Aragon. It will be clearly seen such immense works cannot be performed by individuals, and they should be considered with the most careful and minute attention before they are undertaken at the charge of government.

It is also proper to observe, that this duty is more or less incumbent on the state, according to the circumstances of every nation. In such as are very rich, where commerce daily is amassing immense capitals in the hands of a few individuals, there such vast and expensive works are undertaken by private persons, either to improve their estates, or to obtain from them a rental adequate to that of their neighbours. In such cases these great enterprises become commercial speculations, and government has nothing more to do than to afford them protection and encouragement. But in countries less wealthy, where the objects of commerce are more considerable than the money embarked in it, where every one may employ his capital in a thousand other less hazardous and more profitable speculations, as is precisely our case, it must be evident that no individual will risk it; and if government does not execute

such

such undertakings, the country must be deprived of their benefit.

But if such enterprises require zeal and power, wisdom is equally necessary to render them materially useful. It being impossible they should be all executed at once, it would be proper to undertake them in succession. And, farther, as there would not exist an equal necessity for all, nor all be attended with equal utility, the wisdom of government would be evinced by establishing the order which it might be proper to follow in their execution.

Justice would require that the most necessary should be first commenced; and, after those were completed, then such as were less useful should be undertaken. The first having for their aim the removal of such obstacles as prevent the increase of subsistence and population in districts less favoured by nature than others; and the last, to surmount such as hinder the augmentation of wealth in those more advantageously situated; reflection only is necessary to conclude, that justice requires the former should be undertaken previous to the latter. This remark is the more necessary, because the importunity of claimants, and the partial views of magistrates, often have an undue influence upon such subjects. A reason why the society will not lose sight of this principle in its further observations upon the second kind of physical obstacles.

When those which directly oppose agricultural improvement are once removed, then those which indirectly impede its prosperity merit attention, and which, on the part of nature, can only be such as prevent a free and easy communication and conveyance of the produce of the soil; for consumption being, as already proved, the most certain measure of cultivation, nothing can contribute so much to its progress and improvement as augmenting the means and facilities of consumption.

Want of proper Communications.

The importance of both external and internal communications and means of conveyance is so clear and generally acknowledged, that it would be useless to arrest your attention, sir, by producing proof; but it will not be unprofitable to demonstrate, that though they are necessary for every branch of productive industry, they are particularly so for agriculture. First, because its productions, generally speaking, are more voluminous and ponderous than those of manufactures, and consequently their carriage more expensive and difficult. This difference may be discovered by comparing the price of both on an average equality of weight; for it will appear that a quintal of agricultural produce will sell for less than an equal weight of less bulky articles of manufactures: and the reason is, that the former seldom represent more than the capital employed on the land, and the expence attending their production, while the latter, besides these, receives the additional value of the expence incurred in their fabrication. Further, the produce of the soil is in general of a more perishable quality, and more difficult to preserve than the products of manufactures. Many of the first kind spoil if they are not quickly consumed, as salads, pulse, cabbage, green fruits, &c. others run greater risks, and are easily damaged in their preservation or carriage. In a word, manufactures are portable in their nature, while agriculture is permanent; the one may change their station, the other is riveted to the soil. The former establish and fix the market, which the latter must go in quest of; manufactures always accompany the movements of consumers as the shadow does the body, place themselves by their side, accommodate and humour their caprices; while agriculture, fixed to place, declines when markets are removed far distant, and if they are totally shut, inevitably perishes.

This is alone a sufficient demonstration how necessary it is that the interior roads of our provinces should be amended

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and improved, particularly those which form a communication with each other, and the great roads which extend from the centre to the extremity of the kingdom, and to the seaports, whence our natural productions are exported: the want of good roads has been a subject of long and loud complaint, but notwithstanding has hitherto received very little attention.

Land Communication.

We ought not to suppose this obstacle, which impedes the circulation of commodities, would be surmounted by opening merely any kind of communication; carriage and conveyance should be rendered as easy as possible. In many instances it will not be sufficient for the proper circulation of produce through a province or district to make a road for beasts of burthen, for the mode of carriage on the backs of mules is the most expensive conveyance of any if the market or place of consumption is far distant; because it will result that the price paid for carriage will equal the value of the agricultural produce, and then it would be impossible to find a sale for the article; therefore it is requisite that roads sufficient for wheel carriages should be opened in every direction.

Facts confirm this assertion. For example, the principality of the Asturias is one of the provinces which consumes most of the wine produced in the fertile districts of Rueda, Nava, and Seca, in Castile; and as there are no carriage roads between those places and the Asturias, the common price of carriage by mules is twenty francs, 16*s.* 8*d.* * per load, which advances these wines to so high a price, though sold at so reasonable a rate in the places where they are made, even to nine

* The franc and livre tournois under the monarchy were equivalent, but under the new government by a law of the 25th germinal, 4th year, it was enacted that pieces of five francs should be received for five livres, one sol, three deniers tournois, which changed the proportion from equality to a ratio, of 80 to 81. Dubost's Elements of Commerce, vol. ii. —T.

and

and ten francs, 7*s*. 6*d*. or 8*s*. per arroba *, in those places where they are consumed; then add the tax paid upon the latter price, eleven or twelve francs, 9*s*. 2*d*. or 10*s*. and you obtain their price current in the Asturias. This is the reason why, notwithstanding the preference given to the wines of Castile by the inhabitants of that cold and humid country over those of Catalonia, which are sometimes imported by sea; that it will not be surprising if the latter succeed in banishing the wines of Castile, and occasion a decline in its agriculture.

Further, the corn purchased in the markets of Leon, and sent to the seaports and capital of the Asturias, sells for five or six francs, equal to twenty-five livres, one pound and tenpence, more than at the place of purchase, although the distance is more than twenty leagues. Thus, exclusive of the advantage which a province, that is the consumer, would derive from good carriage roads, it is equally evident that the one which might grow the produce could not prosper without them, because its produce is consumed or exported by the other.

This conclusion results from what has been advanced;—if any district is so far from the points of consumption that conveyance even by carriages might be so expensive as to injure the sale of the article, then reason and justice demand that a communication between such places should be opened by water, whether by rendering the natural rivers navigable, or by increasing the number of canals, where there is a capability of making such artificial rivers; for it is a duty incumbent upon the state to enable all its members to subsist, in whatever part of the kingdom they may reside, by their labour and industry.

* The arroba of wine differs in some provinces of Spain, but the one in general use consists of 8 azumbres or 32 quartillos. Its contents are 947 cubic inches, those of an English gallon are 231; the proportion, therefore, is $231 = 1 = 947 = 4\frac{23}{8}$, or a little more than four gallons of English measure. Dubost's Elements of Commerce, vol. ii. 307.—T.

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The actual distribution of our population gives additional force to this maxim; for all the considerable points of consumption are dispersed, and have no communication with each other, nor with the agricultural provinces. The capital is in the centre; Seville, Cadiz, Malaga, Barcelona, and the most populous cities, generally speaking, are situated at the extremities, and by extending the rays of circulation to an immense circumference, render carriage tedious, difficult, and consequently very expensive. This shews the present roads and means of communication are not sufficient for the prosperity of our agriculture, and that such ought to be instantly formed, as by affording facility of carriage to a market would unite the various districts and territories together, and approximate, if the expression be allowable, the most distant points of consumption. This plan adopted would put culture into a state of activity through every part of the kingdom, increase individual happiness, and diffuse plenty through every corner of the land; at the same time that population and wealth would be more regularly distributed, which at present are so scandalously amassed in the capital and on the frontiers.

But since it is impossible to engage in all these undertakings at once, nothing appears more essential than, as already stated, to fix upon a certain order in which these improvements should be made; which order, nature, on a little reflection, would clearly indicate. The society will enter into some details on this subject.

It remarks, 1st, that in these undertakings the preference should be given to such as are necessary before those less essential; because necessity in every case presupposes utility, and an incontestible utility; and it is evident that government should pay more attention to those plans connected with the means of subsistence, than such as are only calculated to increase private and public wealth.

2dly, Before every thing, government should attend to the great roads; for although it is true that navigable canals offer more considerable advantages for the conveyance of commodities,

yet good roads should previously be made, by means of which a free circulation of produce between the different districts might be rendered easy, and conveyance cheap, so that the canals which should cross them might afford their ostensible advantage. Besides, as canals are much more expensive than roads, and the funds appropriated to such undertakings are never adequate to the performance of all, a prudent economy requires that those should obtain the preference which are likely to be of the most general and extensive utility.

This rule, however, admits of an exception in favour of such canals as answer the double purpose of navigation and irrigation, in cases where the latter is indispensably necessary for the production of subsistence in any province or district: under such circumstances canals merit the preference.

The importance of this maxim was lost sight of during the reign of Charles the First, and his successor to the throne. While Spain had no good roads, and agriculture dwindled for want of land communication, the business of rendering rivers navigable, and constructing canals, was pursued with the most ardent zeal. From that period are dated the grand enterprises of the imperial canal, the making navigable the Guadalquiver and the Tagus, the canals of Xarama and of Manzanares, and numerous other similar undertakings; the expences of which, better employed, would have increased the prosperity of the nation *.

3dly, It

* Much praise is due to the zeal of Jean Baptist Antonelli, who, in a letter addressed to Philip the Second, dated Tomar, in Portugal, 22d of May, 1585, made a proposal to effect the navigation of the whole interior of Spain. The circumstances in which the kingdom at that time was placed, would not permit a hope to be entertained of obtaining so comprehensive a benefit. But notwithstanding that a wise economy requires that roads should be first opened; what extensive progress might not have been made in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, if government, by prescribing limits to the projects of that able engineer, had been willing to execute his plans with the necessary resolution and perseverance? See in the works of Bails the letter of Antonelli, which afforded the

3dly, It appears proper that more attention should be paid to the roads of the interior of every province than its exterior communications; because as they only serve to facilitate the exportation of the surplus of internal trade, this should first be revived and encouraged, and afterwards the exportation of the superfluous articles.

Under the reign of Charles the Third this system was changed; for, after the royal decree of June 10, 1761, the utmost zeal was manifested in making great roads. The order then observed in the execution of this decree was first to open roads extending from the frontiers to the capital, next, such as formed communications from province to province; and then the interior roads of each respective province. Government did not perceive that to obtain a more solid and certain advantage, both necessity and utility pointed an order directly opposite; it should have endeavoured to place agriculture upon a respectable footing in every province, and consequently re-established it through the whole kingdom, before it dreamt of national prosperity. It did not perceive that those vast communications would remain useless, while the unhappy farmers could not pass from one village to another, nor from market to market, without surmounting innumerable difficulties, destroying their beasts by excessive fatigue, and at the risk of losing in the mud the fruits of their toil and the hope of subsistence!

4thly, A good order requires that not many roads should be undertaken at one time, if the funds established for the purpose be not sufficient for the completion of all; for it is evident, a road undertaken for the purpose of forming a communication between any two places cannot be of much utility till the junction is effected, therefore it must be more eligible to complete one than to commence many; and that twenty

the nation a well-grounded hope of one day seeing its rivers rendered navigable, and its beneficial canals increased. Elements de Mathematiques, tom. 3, part. 2.

leagues of communication finished, are more advantageous to the public than a hundred of others left in an incipient or unfinished state.

This rule was disregarded, when by virtue of a decree, issued in the year 1761, were undertaken at one and the same time the great roads leading from the capital into Andalusia, Valencia, Catalonia, and Galicia; and when subsequently were made those of Old Castile, the Asturias, Murcia, and Estremadura. Thus has it happened, from the funds being inadequate to such great and extensive undertakings, that thirty years have elapsed since the decree was issued, and not a moiety of any one of these roads undertaken is yet completed.

Upon a subject like this, even good examples might be pernicious. The Romans respecting the immense roads of their vast empire acted the best; they completed them, even from the place of Antoninus at Rome, to the centre of England on one side, and to Jerusalem on the other; and those roads were so wide, so solid, and so magnificent, that even their remains still form objects of astonishment and admiration. Modern nations, who have been desirous of imitating that great people in this respect, not having possessed the same means, or not having been willing to use them, have vexed and oppressed the people, without enabling them to enjoy the proposed advantages.

This rule, however, admits of an exception in favour of such roads as the provinces might construct at their own expence; for then there could be no inconvenience arise from their undertaking whatever they might judge proper, providing they complied with the above-mentioned rule; that is to say, if they did not attempt to open exterior communications till those of the interior were completed.

5thly, Since it is essential that an order of proceeding in these enterprises should be fixed, and that it is requisite to commence with the most necessary works, it is of importance that even such necessity should be divided by a graduated scale.

This

This appears to be indicated by the very obstacles which prevent or retard circulation, and it is obvious from other considerations, but chiefly from that which respects the greater or less extent of the advantages to be derived: for example, in a case where it became equally necessary to make two roads, and which might be highly desirable, the preference, as to the time of construction, should be given to that which offered the greatest advantage to the state, and might be useful to the largest number of its members.

For the purpose of giving more force, and rendering more perspicuous the principles of the society, let the following instance be adduced. About the middle of the present century the fertile territory of Castile was destitute of good roads, its ancient commerce had fled to Andalusia, its manufactures had disappeared, the consumption of its large cities was not equivalent to the produce of the soil, and consequently they were ruined and depopulated. Where then could this province send its superfluous productions? Into New Castile? The port of Guadarrama was shut to carriers. Was it on the banks of the Bay of Biscay, for the purpose of shipping them to ports belonging to the southern or eastern provinces? The collateral branches of the Pyrenean mountains extending from Fonterabia to Cape Finesterre intercepted their passage. These considerations caused the preference to be given to the way by Guadarrama; and the court of Madrid reasonably adopted a plan, which, by satisfying the most urgent wants, procured also the greatest advantages by the relations it established between the principal points of culture and consumption.

Still this was far from accomplishing the desirable object. For in abundant years Castile was not only able to supply the court and the capital with provisions, but possessed also sufficient grain to answer the demands of other provinces, and some for exportation; and the roads to Sant Andero, Biscay, and Guipuzcoa having been opened, a communication was thus established with the ocean, which produced a most flourishing state of agriculture in Castile.

But can it be supposed that every thing possible has been effected for the province, or which its wants demand? Land carriage considerably enhances the price of provisions, and it follows, if the original price is equal, foreign grain sent by sea to Sant Andero finds a better market than that sent by land from Castile *.

The fanega (about one bushel and a half †) of wheat, which in the year 1757 sold at Palencia at six reals ‡, brought at Sant Andero twenty-two reals, and yet this was the nearest market. This was proportionably the case respecting the grain of Campos, which is at a still greater distance. This alone is a sufficient reason to justify undertaking the Castilian canal, without adverting to the advantages of irrigation, which cannot be considered of small importance.

Through its whole projected course this canal should cross the district of Campos, and a great portion of the kingdom of

* Had not experience constantly shewn, it would scarcely have been credited that the grain raised at la Beauce and l'Orleanois, which places are more than a hundred leagues from the sea, arrive at Cadiz quicker, with a saving of cent per cent upon the carriage, than that of Palencia, which is not more than forty leagues from Sant Andero. See the twenty-third of the excellent notes affixed to the eulogy on count de Gausa, published by the society.

† The Spanish fanega of corn measure is to the English bushel in cubic inches as 3311 to 2176, consequently the fanega contains one bushel four gallons, one pint and $\frac{2176}{3310}$ of a pint, English measure.—T.

‡ The value of a real de vellon, the usual one current through Spain, is in the generally received tables of comparative coinage stated to be equivalent to $5\frac{3}{8}$d. or near $5\frac{1}{4}$d. of English currency; but the ratio or agio of exchange is from various circumstances continually fluctuating; and in a late comprehensive and valuable work upon this subject, before referred to, the real de vellon is made adequate to $\frac{1}{20}$ part of a hard dollar. A Spanish hard dollar, with the restamp of England, is now current for five shillings, consequently the value of the real in English currency is no more than 3d.; therefore six reals, one shilling and sixpence; twenty-two, five shillings and sixpence. The proportion of the Spanish dollar to the English crown was subsequently to the year 1772, as 5,209=100=6,000. See Dubost's Elements of Commerce, vol. ii. table 3. p. 347.—T.

Leon,

Leon, and then no undertaking could be more advantageous or creditable to the nation. Let it be imagined that this communication was once established, one part joining the shores of Guadarrama, and the other with Reynosa and Leon. Supposing again a road continued as far as the sea which washes the Asturias, the central province between the point of its departure and the fertile country; a road passing through Vierzo, Bagneza, Campos, Zamora, Toro, and Salamanca, and immediately it would be seen how agriculture would be re-animated, how population would be increased, and all the sources of wealth be opened in two immense territories, which would consequently become the most fertile, instead of being the most unproductive and thinly peopled of any in the kingdom.

Supposing, further, that the Duero might be increased, and the means of communication between the vast tracts of country were extended by that river; supposing that by the aid of art, across the mountains, Eresma was connected with Lozoya, and Guadarrama was joined to the Tagus by way of Xarama, and Manzanares, that our productions, as formerly, might reach the sea at Lisbon *; and if the Guadarrama, after giving a new port to La Mancha and Estremadura in the great ocean, were extended to the south, even as far as the source of the Guadalquiver (now Toro), and at Cordova received vessels from Seville, as was anciently the case; in short, if the Ebro †, uniting Alfaqua with Laredo, might familiarize the east with the productions of the north, and open the Bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean sea; and if the roads, rivers, and canals of the interior thus afforded their co-operating assistance to this immense circulation, what abundance, what wealth, and what

* In the collection of letters by the learned jesuit Andrè Burriel, published by Don Antonio Valladores, is one written by Don Carlos de Simon Pontero, September 13th, 1785, which contains a history of the navigation of the river Tagus.

† Mariana in his history of Spain, lib. x. cap. 15, gives the following information respecting the ancient state of the navigation on the river

 Ebro,

what prosperity would they not diffuse through the different provinces? But without suffering itself to be elated by these brilliant advantages, the society will pass on to the examination of the last among the physical obstacles necessary to be removed before the benefits proposed can be obtained. This respects the sea-ports.

Among the advantages of situation which nations enjoy in the present state of Europe, none are equal to those arising from an extent of sea-coast, or vicinity to the ocean No continent, however distant, but with which a people so situated may communicate; and while their trade and manufactures are put in a state of contribution for furnishing every useful or pleasing article, they attract the wealth of the whole earth, and are enabled to gratify their most extensive wishes. And if the astonishing progress which has been made in navigation during the present period be taken into the account, it will afford the most convincing proof that a people who do not avail themselves of those advantages, must either be the most ignorant or the most idle upon earth.

It must, however, be granted, this advantage of situation is attended also with inconveniencies. The sea in its tumultuous fury frequently menaces with inundation the inhabitants

Ebro*, for containing them (i. e. the soldiers) it was necessary to have a fleet, and the king had numerous barks and boats built in Saragossa; and it is well known, that under the reign of Vespasian and his son the Ebro, whose navigation had been greatly improved, admitted boats to pass even to the district of Bario, the confines of which are not far distant from the present site of Logrono, sixty-five leagues from the sea, which afforded great advantages to trade and commerce.

* The present Ebro was at that period denominated *Iberus*, and the celebrity of this river, from the exploits of the Romans and natives on its banks, when the latter defended so obstinately their country against the invasion of the former, is finely delineated by the Latin historians; and for a considerable period the country now called Spain, from the people being originally Celts, and their having their habitation near and to the west of the Iberus, received the appellation of *Celtiberia*.—T.

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on its shores; nature at the same time counteracts the violence of the waves by horrible precipices or terrific limits, and apparently signalizes the very dangers which she professes to prevent: but who cannot see that these difficulties are precisely the motives which incite the exertions of man. Sometimes they direct his attention to discover means of security against the threatened danger; sometimes they furnish resources which enable him to extend the sphere of his action and advantages, and create a constant necessity for using his efforts to surmount such formidable obstacles. These, sir, which, in almost every instance, are the causes of national greatness and aggrandisement, have ever been derived from this source; and whatever country possesses such an advantage, and labours to avail itself of such a boon, cannot fail of experiencing plenty and prosperity.

Spain, in this respect, is peculiarly favoured. To the advantage of climate and soil is added that derivable from an extent of sea coast: this peninsula being washed by the sea nearly on every side, situated between two of the largest bays in the world, and near the straits through which the waters of the ocean force their passage into the Mediterranean sea, appears a country peculiarly invited to a general communication with every part of the globe; and if at the same time the plan embraced the extensive and fertile colonies which Spain possesses in the two Indies, and the advantages offered by its geographical situation, the fact could not be denied, that Providence has particularly designed this kingdom for a vast and powerful empire.

By what means has it then unfortunately happened, that possessed of a country so peculiarly and so happily situated, we have neglected one of the most essential means to the attainment of national prosperity? From what unaccountable cause have we neglected the improvement of our ports and harbours, without which we lose the beneficial capability of our situation? Scarcely do we possess one, be its state whatever it may, but is the same as delivered down o us by nature.

One

One certainly we have that combines in it utility and convenience, and every thing to be desired in a port; but then how many are there besides which demand the assistance of art? How many maritime provinces have we, whose various branches of productive industry are deprived of the advantages of their situation for want of a good sea-port? And evidently, to this circumstance may be attributed one of the obstacles which powerfully retards the progress of agricultural improvement.

The society does not deem it necessary to observe, that this object so important in respect to trade and manufactures, is still more so in an agricultural point of view. It has been remarked, that manufactures have their increase or decrease regulated by consumption, and that they invariably preserve a level with it; while cultivation, unable to go before with its productions, is obliged to wait for these opportunities.

On the other side, although all our provinces might be converted into manufacturing, yet all have not the power of becoming agricultural, districts. And thence arises the necessity, as some abound with productions not found in others, and, vice versa, that the superfluities of each should mutually be exchanged; thus the common superabundance of both would furnish aliment to an extensive and energetic commerce, the reasonable object for the ambition of all governments.

To accomplish this grand object, the first requisite is the improvement and increase of our sea-ports; for it is only by facilitating the exportation of its productions that agriculture soars towards perfection. By opening all possible ways of interior circulation, plenty would become universal, the subsistence of the general classes of society would experience a reduction of price, population increase, and with that every branch of productive industry; and this augmentation of quantity both in the produce of the soil and labour, by giving new life to internal trade and commerce, would immediately produce a superabundance that must go in quest of consumers in foreign countries; whence would result a vast external trade,

trade which could not be carried on without the assistance of good sea-ports.

This subject might furnish matter for numerous reflections, but the society will content itself by submitting to your highness two of the most essential. The first is, the absolute necessity of combining and concatenating all the various communications in such a manner, that the sea-ports may form the terminations of all the canals, roads, &c. which it may be thought eligible to construct; for it is evident, that too often this important point in schemes of amelioration is neglected. Is it not surprising to see a good harbour without any communication with the interior, and excellent means of conveyance, unconnected with any port? For example, that of Vigo, which has an advantage superior to all in Spain, from its contiguity to foreign countries, has no communication with the interior Old Castile has possessed roads carried to the sea for forty years past; and yet it was not till last winter that the question was even agitated, respecting the improvement of the harbour at Sant Andero! and the principality of the Asturias, which possesses thirty enterable ports, has no means of conveyance to or from the fertile and adjacent kingdom of Leon.

It is this erroneous application of the means we possess of improvement, and which should be employed to insure a general circulation of our productions, that is the grand cause of our losing all the advantages of our enviable situation.

The second reflection will bear upon the necessity of removing every obstacle which prevents or fetters internal navigation. This principal point should be especially attended to previous to the adoption of any scheme for the improvement of the present, or the establishment of new ports; for these obstacles are innumerable. It is necessary then, in the first place, to abrogate the pernicious fiscal laws, suppress the municipal rights, take away the privileges of certain societies and corporations, destroy the matriculation books, disannul the shameful regulations of commercial jurisprudence and police; in a word, annihilate every thing that prevents the development

development of our mercantile marine, every thing which fetters and enslaves the spirit of our trade, enhances the difficulty and price of conveyance, and destroys external commerce; which, labouring under so many difficulties, is unable to derive advantage from the encouragement designed for its advancement.

Such, sir, are the methods to re-invigorate and further the cause of agriculture, or to speak more properly, to remove the obstacles which nature has thrown in the way of its prosperity. The society is well aware of the difficulty in the execution, but it entertains no doubt of success, as far as respects the zeal of your highness. It is sufficient for you to will and to speak, and all political obstacles would instantly disappear. Prejudices would yield to the arguments of sound logic, as darkness is dissipated before the rising sun; but when the contention is against nature, and the business is to overcome physical obstacles, great and powerful efforts are requisite; and consequently vast and extensive means, which are not always within your power, or at your disposal. Respecting these means it now remains to speak.

Means of removing physical Obstacles.

When it is considered, on one side, the immense sums of money requisite to accomplish the undertakings which have been recommended; and on the other, that one alone of them, for instance, a port, a canal, a road, would incur an expence to construct adequate to the whole portion of the annual public revenue, which should be appropriated to such enterprizes, the value which has been attached to them by all governments will appear excusable; and as these sums must ultimately come from the property of individuals, this inevitable alternative results, either to renounce the happiness of many future generations, to prevent the unhappiness of one; or to oppress the one for the subsequent welfare of the other.

It is, however, proper to avow, that if nations had employed the

the means they possessed to such essential objects, instead of lavishing them upon others less important; there is no nation, however reduced to the lowest degree of distress and poverty, which would not have arrived at the acmè of prosperity; for the little welfare any nation experiences, arises less from the limited nature of its revenues, than the erroneous employment of them, by their application to objects foreign to the general good, and frequently inimical to national prosperity.

For demonstration of this truth, it will be sufficient to consider, that war is the gulf which swallows up the greater part of public revenue; and though a more just use of such revenue cannot be made than devoting it to the defence and security of the people, yet history, unfortunately for the credit of man, informs us, for one war undertaken with this laudable design, a hundred have been waged for purposes of aggrandisement, to extend the bounds of commerce, or gratify national pride. Would there have been any nation not possessed of ports, canals, roads in abundance, and consequently all the means of plenty and prosperity, if, steadily adhering to a pacific system *, it had employed in such undertakings the funds exhausted by projects of vanity and destruction.

But passing over this too common delirium in states, what nation would not have flourished in a very high degree, if commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, had received the encouragements here recommended, instead of those indirect and piece-meal succours which seldom are productive of any advantages, and too frequently prejudicial to the cause they are intended to serve. And what, in point of utility, either with respect to extent, duration, and influence, can be compared with the works already mentioned? The remark, however painful to make, is just, that in this point Spain, the most generous nation upon earth, in contributing on public occa-

* Quid enim tam populare quam pax? Qua non modo ii quibus natura sensum dedit, sed etiam tecta, atque agri mihi læturi videntur. Cic. *de Leg. agr.*

sions.

sions, has not been less unfortunate than other countries in the application of its powerful means.

This error is so general and so radicated, that we hesitate at the idea of being assured that any nation might have had sufficient ports, canals, and roads, necessary for its welfare, if it had employed in the attainment of these objects all the funds it has lavished in the construction of works for pleasure or grandeur. The taste for the fine arts has also introduced another mania among the people of Europe, under the influence of which nations have displayed their magnificence in what are termed public works; in consequence the royal residences, the capitals, the chief cities of their provinces, and smaller towns, are distinguished by superb and expensive buildings; and while the most parsimonious and rigid economy is preserved, when the question respects works of public utility, the most lavish prodigality is visible in the erecting of monuments of vanity, monuments which have quickly disappeared with the nations by whom they were raised.

The society is far from censuring a taste for the fine arts, it well knows how to appreciate a subject so deserving of national protection; it is equally distant from its view to refuse to architecture the merit of an art which in point of utility surpasses all others. It does not pretend that the same rule should apply to all public works, for instance to a palace, a capital city, or a small town; but it can never lose sight of the fact, that the real ornament of a state, its power or political rank, which are the foundations of its splendour, are principally derived from the *welfare of its members:* and nothing can be more odious in any nation than the sight of promenades, theatres, porticos, piazzas, and other monuments of ostentation in the large cities, contrasted with depopulated villages and uncultivated fields, of hamlets deserted, or disgusting by the unhealthiness and extreme wretchedness of the few remaining inhabitants! and all this for want of ports, canals, and roads, which would have diffused through the country plenty and prosperity.

Whence

Whence the only conclusion which can be drawn is, that the expences above mentioned would be most usefully applied in support of the public, and that no other system should be adopted but that which, embracing the wants, and even the wishes of the people, continually endeavours to supply the one, and satisfy the other. For while the funds applied to other objects are in a great measure lost to the general welfare, those employed in plans of amelioration constitute so many capitals placed out at interest, which by daily increasing, and that very rapidly, both individual fortune and the public revenue, facilitate more and more the means of supplying the real wants of the people, under the relations of convenience, ornament, and even ostentation and vanity.

Improvements which respect the Kingdom in general.

The society is of opinion, seeing the distributions already made of the public revenues, which are particularly applied to the support of the royal household, of the navy and army, of the civil list, of administration, and of the courts of justice, it will be proper to establish a special fund, to be called the AMELIORATING FUND, to be solely appropriated to the objects here held up to view. And calculating that the increase of national prosperity would be in proportion to the funds assigned for its development, the society considers that no economy can be more laudable than that which applies its savings for accelerating the execution of plans pregnant with public utility; and in cases when the national expenditure will not admit of an economy sufficient for forming and supporting the ameliorating fund, it would be proper to have recourse to a general contribution, which would be so much more cordially received as its professed object would be public benefit. And why should not the society indulge the hope, that your highness will endeavour to persuade his majesty to employ means which are in his power and subject to his authority, and which his heart must applaud when the question respects such important objects?

objects? Why in time of peace should not the troops be employed in constructing roads and canals? Does not history furnish numerous examples of such a practice? The soldiers of Alexander, of Sylla, of Cæsar, those enemies of the human race, were in times of peace occupied in useful labours. Why then may not the society hope that the army of an upright king, who loves his people, and is fond of peace, should be employed in constructing an edifice of felicity, and devote their time and strength to useful labours, which otherwise would be spent in baneful idleness and sloth; the fruitful nurseries of those vices that corrupt the mind, weaken true valour, and at once destroy both the public morals and the nation's force. With such powerful means what plans might not be executed? And what an increase would the nation derive, from their being thus employed, both of wealth and power?

These funds for public improvement should be appropriated only to works of acknowledged general utility, as the formation of roads leading from the centre to the frontiers of the kingdom; or to the seaports, or places whence an easy access might be had to them. Such funds should be applied to the improving of the navigation of the natural rivers, constructing canals, and in a word to the execution of every plan calculated to facilitate the circulation of the productions of the soil and their free exportation. But they should not be employed in defraying the expences of any undertaking, however great and beneficial it might be, when the advantage would centre in private benefit. Besides the order of nature indicated by necessity and utility should be followed; and the sole aim should be to obtain that gradual developement of the capacity of the country, pointed out by the principles resulting from the researches of the society.

Improvements in the respective Provinces.

Notwithstanding what has been advanced, as this general system would deprive some provinces of those grand works of absolute

absolute utility, and essential to the welfare of the inhabitants; it would be equally requisite, that in each of these provinces a particular fund should be established to defray the expences of such undertakings as might be found necessary for its peculiar improvement.

The society wishes, from the time such funds might be established, the produce of the present *uncultivated lands* in every province should be appropriated to them, if your highness should adopt the mode of sale already proposed, or the emphyteotic cession and annual redemption recommended as a substitute; and that in this case the preference should be given to such persons as might possess a portion of land at the time the cession was made. But should the assets of these funds prove insufficient, their deficiency might be supplied by a general contribution throughout the same provinces, which would be by no means oppressive, if established with equality, and the money raised, employed with prudence and fidelity.

An equal distribution, such as justice would dictate, should be made in the following manner. 1st. The contribution should be general, without the smallest exception, as is observed in the Alphonsine laws, and in the cortez of Guadalaxara, which both equity and reason prescribe; in fact, when the question is the general good, there is not a class, there is not a single individual, who could justly exempt himself from a compliance with the demand. 2dly. In this case all should contribute in proportion to their abilities, for an equal sum ought not to be required both from the poor and the rich, because if all classes partook of the advantages resulting from such undertakings, it is evident that those would participate most who were possessed of most fortune, and consequently it would be right they should contribute in the largest proportion.

These two circumstances may be perhaps found combined in the scheme of an intended duty on salt, applicable to the great roads of the kingdom; for considering the consumption of this article is general, the measure of consumption must be in proportion to individual fortune. A similar tax has the

advantage of being paid imperceptibly and gradually, in small proportions at a time, without which it would be necessary in its collection to have recourse to vexatious and compulsory measures; and it has also the further advantage of being raised without much expence; for the collectors never receive more than six per cent upon the produce, at least this is the case in some provinces. It would be proper that every province should be allowed the amount of its own contribution, and the disposal of it for executing the works in question; depending for the proper application upon its prudence and zeal; this would be the best method of insuring an useful and faithful employment of such funds. These works requiring a prompt and effectual performance should be conducted by persons especially interested in the welfare of the respective provinces; for if government should engage in them, others of a similar nature, which require infinite notices and details, would unprofitably occupy the time and attention of the ministry; and if they were confided to persons less interested in their proper execution, negligence or want of fidelity might justly be apprehended on the occasion.

The society cannot refrain from here making a few important reflections. We often, and perhaps reasonably, lament the default of zeal and public spirit; but the source of this serious evil may be discovered in the want of placing proper confidence in the zeal and integrity of individuals; for should the malversation of a few justify general censure, as unjust always as it is injurious, and which leads in its train the most pernicious consequences? The provincial assemblies have not had at their disposal a single marevedie of the public revenue. The provinces have not been allowed the smallest interference in what essentially concerns themselves. They have been continually subject to ministerial instructions, or foreign and independent commissioners, who have had the direction of all their public works, and every thing relating to roads, bridges, &c. Is this the way to excite the zeal of individuals? Can public spirit be reasonably expected, where none of the relations

tions of attachment, of interest, of accommodation exist; which reason and sound policy establishes between the whole and its parts, between the community and its members? Let the execution of these works be confided to the individuals of the respective provinces, chosen among them, and if possible let them be charged with the employment of the funds furnished by each; let them direct the undertakings, which interest themselves; and let the superintendance and inspection of all these labours be committed to provincial assemblies, composed of proprietors, ecclesiastics, and members of economical societies; and your highness would speedily see a zeal manifested which at present is not in existence, or which does not appear but in those provinces where suspicion and mistrust have not spread their deleterious influence.

This second description of funds should be appropriated to those improvements that appear of general utility to the respective provinces; such as the improving ports and harbours, or forming new ones, making and repairing the cross and other roads, which lead to the great and principal thoroughfares of the kingdom, or at least those of frequent and important communication; rendering rivers navigable; improving the navigation of others, and opening canals; in a word, all those works which without extending to what may be termed the general prosperity of the country at large, are yet by no means circumscribed or limited to a small portion of territory.

Provincial assemblies.

The useful undertakings for any particular territory should have their expences defrayed by the inhabitants, that is, those who depend upon that district or jurisdiction; the provincial assemblies ought at the same time to regulate the expenditure and apportion the quota which each of the contributors ought to pay, with justice and impartiality.

These funds should be increased from the produce of the public lands, if it should be thought expedient to sell them, or

from their rental, if a cession of them by enfeofment should be preferred, by borrowing on the quit-rents the value of the required capital. The society has demonstrated the necessity of employing these means, and the absolute right of property which the public have over these goods of the respective communities.

The same funds should provide for the vicinal ways, which form the communication between the great and direct roads, those which lead to the principal markets, or to those of any particular circle; they should be applied to the canals for irrigation in every particular district; to bridges, and to fisheries; in fine to every thing appertaining to the general good of every respective jurisdiction, to the exclusion of all which have simply for their aim private or personal advantages.

The localities of some particular provinces should, however, be taken into consideration. For instance; such, in which population is dispersed, as in Guipuzcoa, the Asturias, and Galicia, naturally want more roads or ways for common use; such as lead to church, to market, to the mountains, to the rivers, to fountains, and springs; and the formation of them should be left to the inhabitants, who would construct them in different methods, agreeably to circumstances and convenience. In the Asturias, for example, the inhabitants devote to such kind of labours one day in a week, which they call the *sostaferia* or *sestaferia*, because it appears formerly Friday was appropriated to this purpose. On this leisure day the people assemble for the reparation of their roads; and this custom would certainly be attended with very considerable advantage, were it not for certain abuses, that counteract its good effects: for instance, that of exempting from the attendant charges non-resident proprietors, and even resident clergy, when reason and justice demand they should partake of the expence, as their lands partake of the benefit in the former instance, and themselves in the latter; and that either they should send their servants to assist in the work, or remunerate others for the extra share of labour they are consequently obliged

obliged to perform. Another abuse is the employing a labourer who has a carriage, an equal time with him who has none, by which means he contributes three times more than the other; for the value of a day's labour is three reals and a half (10½d.), and that of a labourer with his carriage is eleven reals (2s. 9d.); this occasions a great inequality in this kind of contribution: In the third place, the residences of the inhabitants belonging to an extensive district being in some instances two leagues farther distant than in others from the point of labour, the burthen borne by him who has a carriage becomes still more unequal; for the purpose of reaching the place destined for his labour in the morning, he must necessarily employ three or four hours of the night, and as many on his return; so that his day's labour is nearly tantamount to two. In a word, another glaring abuse is, that this method has been employed only to make good roads to particular farms or habitations, or to repair the great, instead of the parochial roads for which it was intended.

This last article merits all the attention of your highness. The society has already observed that the grand general communications can be of no great utility, till numerous changes have been made in the interior; and it now adds, that were it possible to be occupied in all plans at once, amelioration ought to commence by improvements on a small scale, and proceed gradually to those of greater magnitude and importance. Among the numerous benefits which would be derived immediately from the observance of this maxim, one is peculiarly deserving the attention of your highness, it is that of a more equal distribution of inhabitants in the country. It will not be sufficient to permit the inclosing of land, the communication between distant places should at the same time be free, and the circulation and conveyance of its productions should be easy to the places of consumption. For these two points established, who does not discern that farmers, induced by their own interest, would reside on their farms, and the small proprietors, stimulated by their example, would do the same; and

by the natural rivalry of the human mind, would excite each other to cultivate and improve their respective estates? The country once peopled, fertilized, and embellished, would invite the great proprietors of all; for the country transformed into a delightful theatre for residence would offer a delicious retreat, inviting seclusion from the noise and tumult of crowded cities. In their train would follow trade and manufactures, not those which fabricate the refined articles for luxury; but such as are calculated to supply the wants of rustics and rural inhabitants; and which have long been banished to towns and cities. Probably the want of communications, and the bereaved state of the country, have been the causes of its depopulation.

Doubtless other causes have contributed to the production of this evil, but those it will be no difficult task to remove. Our police, for instance, has it not a most pernicious influence? When its active superintendence is exercised over the licentiousness of large populous cities, when the severity of its regulations extends to plays, operas, and other public amusements, nothing can be more reasonable; and yet it has but slightly touched the abuses which are worthy the attention of your highness; but when its measures of precaution extend to villages, hamlets, and cottages; when they reach the most retired and secluded places; it changes its character, and is productive of the most hurtful prejudices and lamentable consequences. The rage for imitating the regulations, and vigorously practising the strong measures in country places, which the tumult and disorder of large cities will scarcely justify, is become gallingly oppressive. There is not an alcalde, or constable, but establishes an office of inspection; who does not prohibit the use of musical instruments, and the exercises of singing and dancing; who does not go his rounds and make inquisitions; and who is not constantly employed in prosecuting, not those who rob or blaspheme, but those who indulge in the pleasures of harmony, who amuse themselves by playing or singing an innocent song: and thus the unhappy labourer, fatigued

fatigued with the toils of the week, cannot relax himself on a Sunday in the free elevation of his voice, and singing a *sequadilla* in his village or his cabin! There is not a feast, not a dance, not a repast, not a merry-making, at which may not be seen all the menacing apparatus of inquisitorial justice. An inhabitant of the country is never a moment without strongly sighing for that reasonable and becoming liberty which is the soul of all innocent mirth.

Can there be any other cause for the sadness, the discouragement, the unsociableness and gloom, observable in many of our provinces among the peasantry?

But, sir, when our labourers quit the cities and towns to inhabit the country; when they contract the innocence of rural manners; when they know no other pleasures, but the feasts and the pilgrimages of the country, and the dances, and the entertainments of such feasts; when they are permitted to assemble for those innocent pastimes, and to unbend themselves without alarm and dread, as is the case in Guipuscoa, the Asturias, and Galicia; frankness will then appear in their countenances, gaiety smile in their step, and happiness beam on their cottages. The country then would be full of people, and the magistrates and other officers of justice have no other occupation but to protect, praise, and reward them. Then the small proprietors would not disdain to live near the habitations of the peasantry, these would in a degree participate in their happiness; the rich, the people of rank and quality, would attend to witness this unmixed, this genuine happiness; and from the midst of the noise and riot of cities, their fictitious pleasures and nominal joys, they would most probably heave a sigh at least after these simple, but real delights. Population, confined to the narrow limits of cities, would immediately diffuse itself equally through the country; and with it manufactures and commerce would expand their influence; riches would be more equally divided; and plenty and prosperity reign through every quarter of the empire.

Conclusion.

Such, sir, are the obstacles which nature, opinion, and the laws oppose to the progress of agriculture; and such are the means which appear to the society the most likely to effect a regeneration, to awaken individual interest, and to carry agricultural improvements to the highest possible degree of prosperity. Your highness will stand in need of strong resolution and vigorous perseverance to abrogate so many laws, to effect so considerable a change in opinion, to plan and direct so many undertakings, and at the same time to confute and combat such numerous errors and crimes; but it is ever the case in desperate diseases, they do not yield but to violent remedies.

These means of reform recommended by the society demand so much the more energetic efforts, because their adoption should be simultaneous, or most serious inconveniences would ensue. The sale of commonable lands would throw an immense portion of landed property into mortmain, unless the law against amortizement were previously enacted for the prevention of the evil. Without a special restrictive statute, the prohibition of entail, and the dissolution of small majorats, would insensibly bury in ecclesiastical mortmain that vast portion of property which civil amortizement has hitherto preserved from that abyss. What good end would inclosures answer if the present system of partial protection and pastoral privileges were suffered to remain in practice? Of what utility would canals for irrigation be unless inclosing were permitted? If new sea-ports are to be formed, roads leading to them should be constructed: and these roads would be useful only so far as they afforded a free circulation of commodities; and to secure such a free circulation, there should be established a system of contribution compatible with the rights of property, and the freedom of agriculture. In politics, as in nature, sir, all is concatenated, and a single law, a single measure, unseasonably enacted and executed, might ruin a whole nation; as the face

face of nature is instantly destroyed when a single spark is enkindled in her entrails.

Great and vigorous exertions, therefore, are essential to insure success; but they are not beyond the power of your highness, and the motives are of the first importance. They are no less than to open the grand sources of public wealth, to carry the nation to the highest degree of splendour and power, and to conduct the people, whose fate is in the hands of your highness, to the summit of sublunary felicity. Situated in the centre of civilized Europe, in a territory as ample as it is fertile, and under a climate favourable to the developement of the most valuable and multifarious productions; environed by the largest seas, and by this means connected with the inhabitants of the most rich and extensive colonies; for to enjoy collectively the blessing of so many favours, granted us by a beneficent Providence, a powerful hand, such as your highness possesses, is only wanting to remove the obstacles which prevent such prosperity. The question here is, not the adoption of a chimerical or doubtful project, with a view to accomplish the sublime object, nothing more is required than rational, just, and appropriate laws. Here is much less to prescribe and enact, than to abrogate and correct; it will be sufficient to recognize the legitimate rights of landed property, to restore to trade and manufactures their native patrimony, and re-establish the empire of justice and reason upon the ruins of vulgar error and antiquated prejudice. This triumph, sir, peculiarlyseems to belong to the reign of our sovereign, from the regard which he evinces for the welfare of his subjects, and the pacific and patriotic virtues of your highness afford us assurance of final success. While other political bodies seek for glory in ruin and desolation, in the overthrow of social order by aerial schemes and ferocious systems, which under the name of REFORM, trample justice under foot, oppress innocence, and abandon all to confusion and misery; your highness, conducted by profound wisdom, and regard for religion, has been only employed in discovering those just and proper limits, which eternal

eternal reason hath fixed between the opinion respecting the inferiority of the people, and the duties of the superior classes to whom the lower naturally look up for protection.

But abrogate, sir, at a stroke those barbarous laws which condemn to pepetual sterility so many commonable lands; those laws, which subject particular property to become the prey of avarice and sloth, which, by giving sheep preference to the human race, have made fleeces the sole object of their protecting care, and neglected and contumeliously treated the culture of grain, the essential support of man; those laws which, having suffered individual property to be absorbed by powerful families or political corporations, have left disposable neither property nor produce, and consequently afforded no chance for industry, nor any attraction for the employment of capital; for, in fact, when these expedients were adopted, then the laws impeded a free disposal of landed produce, and every way prevented the developement of agricultural industry. Only let your highness instruct proprietors what are the real foundations of national prosperity; only shew them the method of instructing the lower classes of the community, that they may be placed in a state of profiting by the communications of the learned and scientific; in short, only let your highness dare to contend with nature, and by removing physical obstacles, force her, so to speak, to second the efforts of individual interest, or at least so far resist her, as to put it out of her power to counteract those efforts: and in this manner will your highness be able to complete the grand work which has so long occupied your attention; in this manner will you answer the general expectation; in this manner will you prove you were worthy of the great trust the Spanish nation confided to your talents, integrity, and zeal. The society itself will find an ample reward for all its labours, and the long researches and investigations upon this subject for the discovery and establishment of a principle clear and simple, by means of which

it

it has elucidated such a number of important truths, with the noble and unbiassed freedom that forms the character of its institution, will furnish it with a claim to a portion of the same glory which your highness will acquire by the re-establishment of agriculture, and the recalling of our ancient prosperity to the bosom of the state.

The whole of this memoir, written by a man perfectly acquainted with the nature and interests of his country, has perhaps no fault unless the prompt application recommended of the valuable principles it contains may be considered as such. It was the observation of a judicious philosopher, that if it were possible for a person to possess the knowledge of all truth, yet he should communicate it gradually, or, as it were, drop by drop, to mankind, like the genial rain descends to water the earth. But could this maxim be followed, if the necessary changes were to be made, without having first well examined the state of every province? Certainly the exclusive privileges of the *Mesta* are odious, and ought to be curtailed; but such is the wealth which Spain, and especially the revenues of the state, derive from the system, and such is the immense number and organization in the management of the flocks in the two provinces of Leon and Estremadura, that the certainty of success should be very evident before they should be deprived of all power of reinstatement. At least a lapse

lapse of a considerable time should be allowed; perhaps several centuries would be requisite to effect this important change, which would inevitably be highly disastrous, if conducted with precipitation. Doubtless the vast accumulation of landed property, whether in the hands of the clergy, in corporate bodies, or majorats, are exceedingly inconvenient; but a too hasty and general division of this property would disperse capital, and destroy all means of assisting and improving either agriculture or manufactures, either trade or commerce: this subject has been already treated of in the preliminary discourse to this work. And although we perfectly agree with the learned author of the memoir, that the suppression of majorats would be highly beneficial to the nation, yet we are still of opinion that to sell or render alienable at once such a large quantity of landed property would be highly dangerous; for it certainly would make a serious reduction in the price of lands, which would be an evil equally great with their present exorbitant price. The only change which appears at present indispensably necessary is, putting land in such circumstances as may facilitate an improved culture, and by extending the term of leases to encourage industry. The interest and spirit of a farmer who has a long lease on land adapted for cultivation are often as enterprising as though the estate was his own property.

Greater

Greater part of the improvements mentioned in this memoir were recommended by the ancient economists of Spain, particularly by Zabala, Ustariz, and Loynaz, who at the same time amply discussed the nature and consequences of taxation.

Not a doubt can be entertained that land in Spain is too heavily burthened with taxes; but then it is evident that this is the last analysis upon landed produce which ought to form the base of public revenue, because the only one which can possibly constitute a standard. The best possible tax would be such a one as might indiscriminately, and without exception, embrace all contributable articles proportionate to their capability of bearing it; in such case taxes would not be difficult to pay, nor expensive to collect. Doubtless every species of productive industry ought to be taxed; but precaution is necessary, lest public credit which sustains it should be injured by taxation. This consideration has always in England prevented the government from taxing the funds equally with landed property, notwithstanding, as established in the names of the proprietors, they constitute a very proper source of contribution to the necessities of the state. This same apprehension of injuring public credit has induced that people to abstain from making reprisals upon the capital of foreigners placed in their funds, whatever the losses individuals may receive from the nations to which such foreigners belong. Indirect taxes are certainly the most eligible

eligible in any country, and such are recommended by the writer of the memoir; but for the establishment of them it is requisite that manufactures should be in a respectable state to support their payment. How much instruction and benefit would the cultivators of the soil obtain without public schools, without elementary treatises, if the principal lords and landholders resided on their estates, and employed their talents and their time in agricultural improvement? By these means so great a progress in a short period has been made in cultivation in England, France, and Germany: Spain and Italy are the only countries in Europe where the nobility and gentry do not reside upon their domains, and this is the true and fruitful source of the miserable culture visible through both these countries.

This residence of great proprietors upon their estates, the general benefits which would be derived from their examples, the knowledge they would diffuse, the desire of instruction they would excite, and the consequent improvements resulting from it, would quickly remedy the evils complained of toward the conclusion of the memoir, viz. want of roads, canals, irrigation, and navigation.

In every rich and well cultivated country the expences of no undertakings for improvements should be defrayed by government, public interest is sufficiently adequate to bear them, by inducing those to engage who are most interested in such pursuits.

A light

A light assessed tax, a temporary toll for bridges and roads, would pay the interest of the capital expended in their first construction, and that further necessary for their reparation. The provincial assemblies, with the consent of the head of the state, might be allowed to have the direction of such concerns; and, further, it would be unnecessary for government to interfere. The country would thus, as it were, spontaneously improve and enrich itself. The provinces of England, of the United States, and Languedoc in France, are visible and demonstrative proofs of this assertion, and these examples cannot be too often urged upon other countries for imitation.

Further, the improvements recommended in this memoir, and which appear opposed by numerous and formidable obstacles, would find much fewer under a prince of a decisive character, who would persevere in making well-directed efforts, and who particularly would place his confidence in such able and judicious men as the author of this memoir; men equally qualified to carry into execution useful plans of amelioration as they were formed by nature for their first conception.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

MANUFACTURES.

Spain, celebrated in remote periods for the fertility of its soil, and the variety of its productions, was equally signalized by the industry of its inhabitants. The Greeks and Romans found this country far more advanced in all kinds of useful arts than they could possibly have imagined. It was in the city of Zoela, in the district of Tarragon, where the first linen stuffs were manufactured; and the cloths of Xativa, or San Felippo, the ancient Sœtabis, were famous through Greece and Italy.

"Sœtabis et telas Arabum sprevisse superba."

At Carthagena very fine stuffs were fabricated from the bark of trees. The manufacture of fine woollen cloth had arrived at a high degree of perfection, and the Spaniards possessed the art of dying cloth of a beautiful purple colour, which they had evidently learned of the Phœnicians: with this article they supplied all Italy. In their early conquests the Spanish military arms were adopted by the Romans; the Celtiberians knew the mode of tempering steel, so that nothing could resist the force

force of their swords. Diodorus Siculus supposes the method they employed was to bury the unpolished blades till rust had corroded and destroyed the softer parts; but the opinion of Justin is far more probable, who attributes this quality to two rivers of Aragon, near which the sword manufactories were established. The downfal of the Roman empire, and the invasion of Italy by the people of the north of Europe, injured at the same time the manufactures of Spain. These were again revived when the Moors formed in the centre of the country several particular and independent kingdoms, and when on the other side, the Spaniards, driven to the mountains, having acquired a spirit and energy which they had not for a long time experienced, rapidly assembled and united for the deliverance of their country.

The Moors furnished the Spaniards with examples of genius, activity, and industry; and these the latter endeavoured to imitate. The two nations in a manner divided the manufactures of Spain; those of leather, linen, silk, &c. were almost entirely in the hands of the Arabs, those of arms and articles fabricated of wool were in the hands of the Spaniards; who at the same time possessed the mines of Biscay and the flocks of Leon. The epoch of the expulsion of the Moors in the year 1614, marks the period of the decay and ruin of those manufactures, which had flourished under their direction. The Spaniards who had witnessed

the advantages derived from them, endeavoured to effect a revival; they were partially successful in this attempt, but have never arrived at that degree of perfection attained by the Moors.

The history of Spanish manufactures may be divided into three periods. The first commences with the reunion of all parts of the monarchy, under the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, in the year 1475; and extends down to the death of Philip the Second, in the year 1598. The second comprises the reigns of Philip the Third, Philip the Fourth, and Charles the Second, that is to say, during the whole of the seventeenth century. The third includes the eighteenth century; but strictly speaking, it did not begin till the year 1720.

The first was a brilliant period for Spain; manufactures of every kind were much increased, and for a time they became very famous. The second period witnessed their decline and decay, and their fall was as rapid as their elevation. Spain then no longer employed foreign merchandize. The third period furnishes an interesting index of the efforts which were used for a series of time to reinvigorate the national manufactures. During the first, Spain was in a flourishing state; but it had not then arrived at that high degree of improvement described by the greater part of modern writers*; who have

* See the memoir of Damian Olivarez, written in the year 1620; and *La Restauracion de la abundancia de Espana*, by Michel Cuxa de Leruela.

affected

affected to believe that the country then had attained the acmè of its wealth and splendour. I shall present a table, which they have not done, by collecting the facts proper to be known for arriving at the true state of Spanish manufactures, from the commencement of the fourteenth to the close of the sixteenth century.

During the whole of that period, tanners and curriers were numerous, more especially in the two Castiles and Andalusia; but those of Cordova were the most celebrated.

Seville had several very considerable cloth manufactories, and a great many cottons were manufactured both there and in Catalonia.

The city of Toledo was noted for needles and swords. These were the ancient Spanish swords, distinguished by the appellations of swords of *arçon* and swords of *golilla*, they were admirably tempered, and justly merited the reputation they obtained. Sufficient were made at this city to supply the demands of all Spain, and also those for exportation. Excellent sword blades were also manufactured at Saragossa.

Calatayud in Aragon was famous for its cutlery, and other articles in steel.

The city of Ocaña in la Mancha, was celebrated for its glove manufactory: the quantity annually made at that place amounted to about one hundred twenty-four thousand dozen pairs.

But the most extensive, considerable, and im-

portant among Spanish manufactures were those of silks and fine cloths.

In the cities of Seville, Granada, Cordova, Jaen, Valencia, Barcelona, and Toledo, were manufactories of all kinds of silk stuffs both plain and flowered, taffeties, serges, satins, damasks, and velvets; some were also manufactured in la Mancha and Old Castile.

Many of these manufactories were very considerable. At Seville were reckoned six thousand looms, and the trade occupied upwards of one hundred and thirty thousand persons. The other silk manufactories of Spain, according to this proportion, might probably have employed in the whole about eleven hundred thousand people. A memoir presented, in the years 1620 and 1621, to a meeting convened by Damien Olivarez, in the name of the master-manufacturers of Toledo, contains very interesting details respecting the manufactures of that city at the period in question. Among other curious particulars it appears, that thirty-eight thousand four hundred and eighty-four individuals were employed in the silk trade, and that to answer the demand of the trade four hundred thirty-five thousand pounds of silk were annually requisite, and that if the labour of these persons had been suspended, the annual average loss would have amounted to 1,927,727 ducats, 5,301,250 livres tournois, 220,885l. 8s. 0d.

The

The woollen manufactories were exceedingly numerous.

Garters, ribbons, stockings, and carpets, were made in la Mancha. Coarse camlets were manufactured at Cuença. Stockings and caps of red wool at Toledo. The memoir of Damien Olivarez, above quoted, calculates the number of cap-makers at Toledo, about the middle of the sixteenth century, to have been five hundred and sixty-four; the number of families employed in this manufacture in the parish of St. Michael only, to have been six hundred and ninety-eight; and the number of caps annually manufactured to have amounted to seven millions. He further assures us, that he himself annually manufactured at Toledo and la Mancha a hundred thousand pair of stockings, and this manufacture used twenty-eight thousand arobas, seventy thousand quintals, 67,307¾ cwt. of wool; that it employed six thousand nine hundred persons, and that he paid for labour annually 413,636 ducats, 1,137,499 livres tournois, 47,385l. 15s. 10d.; a very considerable sum for that period.

Manufactories of broad cloths of different qualities, flannels, baize, swandowns, serges, tammies, duffels, and other woollen stuffs, were established in various parts of Estremadura, Catalonia, la Mancha; at Saragossa and Ternel in Aragon; at Villa Nueva, Avila, Segovia, Burgos, Valladolid, in Old Castile; at Cuença, and Toledo, in New

Castile; at Granada and divers other places in both the Castiles and Andalusia; at Palencia in the kingdom of Leon; and at Ontenienta and in the capital of the kingdom of Valencia.

Among the manufactures of la Mancha, those of Ciudad Real were the most celebrated.

Those of Teruel were very extensive, and the fine broad cloth made there obtained deserved reputation.

The cloths manufactured at Segovia were famed through all Europe, their fineness and durability procured for them a great demand, and vast quantities were exported; Segovian cloth has not even lost its celebrity to the present day.

The flannels and swandowns of Alhanchel, in Estremadura, were celebrated, and the manufactories of these articles were numerous and extensive.

The cloths of Estremadura neither in fineness nor beauty equalled those of Segovia; but they were of a tolerable quality, and much in demand.

The cloths made at Cuença, commonly green or blues, were exported to Turkey, and the states of Barbary.

The cloths fabricated in Catalonia, and much of the wool produced in that province, were sent to the island of Corsa belonging to the kingdom of Naples, to Sicily, to Smyrna, to Alexandria, to different places in Greece, and even to Holland, and Friesland. A glance at the quantity of wool used in

in these manufactures, and the number of persons employed, would serve at once to shew their great importance. We shall state the sentiments of authors who have written upon the subject.

The manufactures of Segovia annually consumed 178,500 arobas, 44,625 quintals, or 42,908 cwt. of wool, and employed 34,189 persons. But such a failure had taken place in the trade, so early as the year 1620, that in the space of twenty years, 25,500 pieces of cloth upon the annual average were manufactured less than in the preceding period, owing to the introduction of foreign merchandise: and this produced an annual loss of 2,424,818 ducats, 6,668,450 livres tournois, 277,852l. 1s 8d.

The woollen manufacture of Toledo and la Mancha annually required 180,000 arobas, 45,000 quintals, 44,240 cwt. of wool, and gave employment to 38,250 persons.

At Cuença were annually washed 250,000 arobas, 62,500 quintals, 60,096 cwt. of wool; and 150,000 arobas were dyed for the use of the manufactures.

It appears from this statement, Spain in that flourishing period was perfectly independent of foreign nations; manufacturing the greater part of its silk and wool, the country supplied the wants of the inhabitants from within itself; and that it exported more manufactured than raw articles. This view of the national state of Spain

would contradict the principle already stated in the commencement of this work, upon the progressive advancement the country has experienced, if much of this exaggerated picture were not too highly coloured, and if a great reduction ought not to be made from the estimates given by ill-informed historians, and believed by others still more credulous and less acquainted with the matter. The excellent memoir of Mr. Capmany, of which we have had occasion previously to speak, contains many valuable researches, and observations upon this subject. It is clearly evident, that in the most flourishing periods of Spanish trade, the periods so vauntingly emblazoned by Damien Olivarez and Cuxa Leruela, this kingdom never ceased to be dependent upon foreign countries for the numerous objects of luxury, and its exports seldom consisted of any thing more than the productions of the soil, or at most of such manufactured articles as were but of small importance. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, great part of the metallic articles were imported from Suabia and Lombardy, every kind of linen came from Flanders, from whence also were obtained ordnance and ammunition. Doctor Francisco Villalobos, physician to Charles the First, who wrote in the year 1534, just on the eve of a war breaking out observed, that it was necessary to import from Flanders gunpowder, and even timber for artillery carriages, to fetch carpenters from Italy to make

make them; and also musquets and other military weapons. It was not till so late as the year 1719, that the first factories for warlike instruments were set up at Barcelona. If the flourishing state of manufactures described by some Spanish writers had actually existed in the fifteenth century, contemporary writers would have noticed it; whereas the contrary is the fact, they complain of the miserable state to which manufactures of every kind were then reduced. Exportation was at that period confined to articles of the first necessity, a little dressed leather, and cloth in inconsiderable quantity. Uzano, who wrote about 1440, is perfectly silent respecting the manufactures of Segovia, Toledo, and Burgos; but continually speaks of the wool-stapling in Castile and Aragon. And the fact is, that in the years 1340, 1440, 1481, and the intervening periods, a large quantity of wool, more or less, was exported from the ports of the Mediterranean sea, as well as from those belonging to Castile and Biscay. The nineteenth chapter of the cortez of Barcelona in the year 1481, imposed a duty of six deniers, about a farthing, upon every aroba of wool in the grease, and twelve on every aroba of washed wool that was exported from the port of Tortosa; and if sent out of the kingdom by any other port of Catalonia, it was subject to a five times heavier duty. And yet at that period the wools of Castile had

had not attained the degree of fineness which they have since acquired by the introduction of English sheep, and crossing the breed, as before observed.

This amelioration, which took place in the year 1394, so far affected the fine wools, that as early as the year 1419 the cortez of Madrid insisted upon the introduction of foreign cloth being prohibited, on account of the injury its importation had done to the national manufactures, which had hitherto consisted in the fabrication of coarse and second cloths: a convincing proof of this fact is afforded by the decree of king don John the Second, in the year 1442, determining the price at which those cloths should be sold; for it was very low in comparison of foreign cloths, the value of which was equally fixed by a sumptuary law. The rates of the finest cloth at Valladolid did not exceed 40 maravedis; and that of Florence was 167; cloth of the finest texture made at Palencia, Cuença, and Cordova, brought only 34, while that of Bruges sold for 140: and thus in proportion was the difference between the home-manufactured article, and that imported from other countries.

This introduction of foreign cloths was general in the two kingdoms of Castile and Aragon: for it was a legislative question in the cortez of Valladolid in the year 1351, under king don Pedro or Peter; and in that of Toro in 1386, convened by king John the First.

If

If the subject of the importation of foreign cloth be pursued from epoch to epoch, in the provinces subject to the crown of Castile, the names of manufactured stuffs will always be found the same; no variation being discoverable except in price: even so low down as the reign so apparently flourishing, of Ferdinand and Isabella, in the years 1513 and 1515, when it might be supposed manufactures must have been arrived at a high degree of improvement, the same customs, the same sort of dress, and the same kind of furniture is every where seen. Mr. Capmany published a curious statement relative to this subject, from a book kept by the steward belonging to king Ferdinand's household, which contains a long list of cloths, with some additions by new names of foreign cities where they were made; as, for instance, cloths of London, Milan, Ypres, Bruges, &c. which furnished the court with these articles. The country cloths, such as those of Cuença, Segovia, Valencia, and Toledo, were only employed for the liveries of the inferior servants attached to the palace.

General opinion considers the reign of Charles the First as the most brilliant period in the annals of Spain, for that was the epoch when the exportation of cloths, serges, and other stuffs commenced; but a most unaccountable political blunder disgraces the history of that period, the prohibiting exportation, and still further obliging the woolmerchants to import, for every twelve sacks of wool

wool they exported, two pieces of fine cloth, and one bale of foreign linen.

Such was the decree issued by the cortez of Madrid in the year 1552, which is referred to in the eighty-eighth petition of the cortez assembled in the year 1555.

The twenty-sixth petition of the same cortez equally complains of the enormous profits, which the French and Flemish derived from all kinds of cloth not manufactured in Spain, though of general use through the kingdom, and the consequent national loss; and the prayer of its petition was, that to remedy this evil, and prevent this serious drawback upon the wealth of the kingdom, immediate encouragement might be given to the growth of flax.

The case was exactly parallel respecting the manufactures of silk and gold lace, most of which was brought from Luques and Florence; so that the catholic kings were under the necessity of prohibiting the importation of such articles, by a law enacted September 1494, into the provinces subject to the crown of Castile, excepting the quantity of such kinds of stuffs as might be necessary for the use of the church, and that was very considerable.

The same prohibitions were extended to every kind of steel ware, and glass, &c. the importation of which had been allowed by the cortez assembled at Valladolid, in the years 1548 and 1593. Similar

milar grievances were stated and claims preferred in the seventeenth century, even to the end of Charles the Second's reign.

Damien Olivarez, whom all modern writers quote, and who exhibited such a brilliant display in his statement of the wealth of Spain, affirmed himself, that from an estimate made in the year 1610, there were six thousand foreign mechanics employed in the kingdom of Castile alone.

Sancho de Moncada in the year 1619 observed, that foreigners composed five-sixths of the trading population in Spain, and nine-tenths of that in the new world; and that there were paid them at that time twenty-five millions of ducats annually, either in merchandise, pensions, exchange, commissions, &c.

How could Seville otherwise have supported one hundred thirty thousand persons employed solely in the silk manufactures? Such a number is highly probable at least, when it is considered that in that city the different branches of manufactures occupied three hundred thousand, without taking into the estimate the nobility, clergy, and other people out of trade. But the utmost population of that city at present scarcely amounts to a hundred thousand persons, and the circumference apparently was at no time more extensive. It might probably have been once more populous, and history supports such an opinion; but never to the multitudinous extent above quoted. The same observation will apply to Toledo, Segovia, &c.

A con-

A conclusion may be drawn from this examination of the subject, that Spain was in a more flourishing state under the catholic kings than under the successors of Charles the First and Philip the Second; but not to that degree which statistical writers have represented. States, I repeat, on account of their bulk, are much slower in their progress towards the acmè of amelioration than individuals, and their apparent prosperity in relation to past times generally consists in a very small improvement comparatively to what they might, from their capability, have acquired.

The second era presents a sudden and rapid change from the most flourishing state of manufactures to an almost instantaneous decline and fall, which nearly amounted to an absolute annihilation of trade. This revolution was produced by the combination of many causes, and by the coincidence of numerous events.

The expulsion of the Moors happened in the year 1614, and they carried out of the country with them their activity, ingenuity, and wealth. This formed the first epoch in the declension of manufactures in Old and New Castile, Andalusia, and Estremadura.

This, however, was little more than manufactures changing their station, the provinces of the north gaining in a measure what the others had lost. But suddenly taste and luxury pervaded the whole country. The Spaniards neglected their own

own manufactures, because foreign stuffs were universally preferred to those fabricated in the country.

Government impolitically seconded the wishes of the people; and induced by the few paltry duties to which foreign merchandize had been subjected, permitted the importation of manufactured articles from other countries. From that period Spain became tributary to France, to England, to Germany, and the national manufactures were generally neglected, and almost absolutely abandoned.

Notwithstanding the influx of gold from the American colonies, Spain was rapidly on the decline; foreign wars absorbed all the finances, and a weak and impolitic administration increased the malady. Government seemed to have no other view but to devise means of procuring money. It imposed a tax called *bolla*, or a stamp-duty, upon articles manufactured in Catalonia, which excited the remonstrances of the manufacturers,* whose grievance

* These remonstrances were general. The merchants, the manufacturers, the municipalities, whole provinces, carried their petitions to the foot of the throne. Catalonia strongly pointed out the disadvantages arising from the *bolla*; the kingdom of Jaen petitioned against the tax upon silks; the city of Seville, by the representation of grievances from seventeen companies of different trades in the year 1601, powerfully demonstrated the pernicious consequences of permitting the importation of foreign merchandise, the exportation of silk and wool;

grievance not being redressed, the trade became consequently neglected; and for a time was nearly annihilated. Very heavy taxes were laid upon silk, which operated as a discouragement to the growers, especially in Andalusia; of course the culture of mulberries and the rearing of silkworms were neglected, and the quantity of silk was very materially diminished. By this impolitic measure government was obliged to have recourse to another equally pernicious. It granted permission to export silk and wool, and this exportation soon became very considerable; for the merchants, the manufacturers, instead of employing their time and capital in manufacturing, preferred the more easy method of enriching themselves by dealing in the raw article: as they could thus obtain, without difficulty or risk, fifteen per cent. for their money. Tradesmen of moderate capital, who were unable to become export-merchants, were consequently obliged to purchase wool and silk at a very dear rate; and as the price at which their manufactured cloths and stuffs sold would not cover the expences

wool, and the alteration of articles fabricated in Spain; the manufacturers of Toledo made similar representations in the year 1620; and those of Seville again returned to the charge in 1659. All presented black and alarming statements of the decay of manufactures, decline of commerce, and the loss resulting both to individuals, and the state. To these statements the slightest attention was not paid; for war! baleful war! occupied the whole attention of the national councils.

of

of the raw article and of manufacturing, they were constrained to abandon the trade altogether.

Emigrations, though at that period not very considerable to the new world, yet took place to a great extent in other channels, Flanders, and Italy. This continued for two centuries, and seriously diminished the population of the country, and especially among the labouring classes, as husbandmen, shepherds, and mechanics. A double evil was generated by these means; the consumption of national articles was discouraged, and those of foreign countries promoted: the manufacturers were disheartened, numbers were entirely ruined, and trade completely disappeared.

Seville, in the sixteenth century, it is said, had sixteen thousand silk-looms; in the year 1636, it had only sixty.

Toledo, at nearly the same period, in the year 1520, used four hundred thirty-five thousand pounds of silk at the lowest calculation; and the manufactures of that city and La Mancha annually consumed fifty-two thousand quintals of wool in making druggets, serges, tammies, stockings, and other woollen articles. In the year 1620, ten thousand quintals were sufficient to supply their demands. The manufactories of Segovia, which consumed forty-five thousand pounds* of wool, and

* *Livres* in the original, is probably an error of the press for *quintaux*, for the statement as it stands allows scarcely two

and annually made twenty-five thousand pieces of cloth, were reduced at the latter period to a very few looms. The city of Toledo, at the middle of the sixteenth century, had upwards of fifty separate manufactories, that got up annually about seven millions of red woollen caps; in 1655 it had only thirteen. The manufacturing of these articles was principally in the hands of the Moors, who, driven out of Spain, carried with them their trade, and established their manufactures at Tunis; and these caps were subsequently imitated at Orleans. Spain after that imported them from both places: it is true that it furnished the wool, but it lost the profit arising from the dying and manual labour. At Cuença, in the year 1620, the quantity of wool washed was sixty-two thousand five hundred quintals, and thirty-seven thousand five hundred quintals were annually dyed; but in 1640 the washing amounted only to two thousand five hundred quintals, and the dying to two thousand.

The manufactures of cotton, linen, and hempen cloths, gloves, and swords, entirely vanished; and by the close of the seventeenth century, scarcely the smallest vestiges remained.

Spain was absolutely destitute of trade when

pounds to a piece, and supposing the piece thirty yards the error is palpable, even admitting the cloth were of the finest quality; but when the consideration that those articles were imported, it becomes still more glaring.—T.

Philip

Philip the Fifth ascended the throne. The intestine wars, which devastated the kingdom during the first fourteen years of that monarch's reign, and the low state to which the national finances were consequently reduced, prevented the government paying the smallest attention to this subject. Nor was it till after tranquillity had been restored, and regulations adopted with respect to the public revenue, that the people were induced to wear their national manufactures. The importation of articles from foreign countries was prohibited as soon as the Spaniards were able to manufacture them for themselves. Ferdinand the Sixth went still further than his predecessor; he established manufactories at his own expence, and encouraged the establishment of others by peculiar privileges, and pecuniary assistance; he induced foreign artizans, particularly Frenchmen, to come and reside, and employed them in those factories which he had established. His successor, Charles the Third, followed his example, and greatly increased and multiplied the means of encouragement.

The manufactures of Catalonia were the first which revived subsequent to the war, waged respecting the right of succession. That province but just before exhausted, found itself suddenly enriched by the number of troops left in it; for many of the foreign soldiers, when discharged, took up their residence there, and displayed their manu-

facturing abilities with success. In a short period of time Catalonia exhibited a new face; manufactures were established, and by a spirit of rivalry were quickly multiplied. This regeneration of trade was not equally prompt in other parts of the monarchy; but gradually new branches of manufacture started up in divers places; and the different ramifications are sufficiently numerous at the present day.

Manufactures of Cloth and other Woollen Goods.

Some years ago an attempt was made to re-establish the ancient manufactures of ribands and woollen garters in la Mancha, Villaroya and Aragon; but very little spirit or energy is visible in those establishments. Ribands, caps, and stockings are made at Valdemoro, in New Castile.

Woollen carpets are woven at Cuença in New Castile.

Bands for woollen caps are made at Aulot in Catalonia, where the number of looms for weaving them amounts to fifty.

Woollen stockings are made at Aulot, Areñs, Vich, and at the convent of Gironne in Catalonia; at Jaca, and in the district of Cinco Villa in Aragon; and at Burgos in Old Castile. At Aulot, by estimation there are four hundred frames; and the quantity manufactured annually at Jaca is sufficient to allow the exportation of about seven hundred dozen pairs; the number of stockings woven at Burgos is very considerable; and the city of Vich alone produces annually twenty-four thousand pairs.

Blánkets are woven at Barcelona, at Saragossa, at Puebla de Palencia, in the kingdom of Leon; and at Burgos in Old Castile

tile. The looms are very numerous at Barcelona; but they are not collected in factories, and the quantity of blankets made is considerable. A few are woven at Saragossa, but the consumption of wool there does not annually amount to more than one hundred and twenty-five quintals. The blankets of Palencia are the finest and most esteemed; but the duty to which they are subject prevents any extension of their fabrication: yet the average quantity annually made is about sixty-three thousand, which sold at thirty reals each, seven livres six sols tournois, six shillings and one penny, produces 2,190,000 reals, 542,500 livres tournois, (22,354*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*)

Burgos has twelve factories. A few bouracans (coarse camlets) and camlets are made at Valladolid, in Old Castile; camlets at Rio Seco in the kingdom of Leon; in the district of Jaca in Aragon; and at Alcoy in the kingdom of Valencia; but the quantity manufactured at those places is not very large.

Tammies are manufactured at Valladolid and Manresa in Catalonia; at Cuença, at Rio Seco, and at Puebla de Palencia in the kingdom of Leon; at Biescas, at Jaca, and the environs of that city, in Aragon. The manufactory is of a very confined nature at Valladolid: at Jaca there are twenty-five looms, which annually produce about twelve hundred pieces each, in length one hundred varas,* seventy ells, ninety-one English yards. Biescas has sixty looms, though it does not annually produce more than seven hundred pieces of the same length. At Manresa are four factories; and the annual produce of the manufactures of Puebla de Palencia is estimated at one million of reals, 250,000 livres tournois (10,416*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum.)

The manufactories of baize, flannel, swandowns, druggets, and other coarse or common woollen stuffs, are very numerous. They are established at Junquera and Ronda, in the kingdom of Granada; at Campo de Criptana in la Mancha; at Segovia, and at Burgos; at Ubeda in the kingdom of Jaen; at Graza-

* The *vara*, cloth measure, is in proportion to the English yard, as 109,38, to 100: the vara consists of 395,25 lines, and the English yard of 432: hence results the following equation, 392,25=100=432. Dubost's Elements of Commerce, vol. ii. tab. 8.—T.

lema in the kingdom of Seville; at Escoray in Biscay; at Estela in Navarre; at Alhanchel, and Bejar in Estremadura; at Enguera, and Alcoy in Valencia; at Guadalaxara, Toledo, Cuença, Gascueña, and Siguenza in the kingdom of New Castile; at Rio Seco, Puebla de Palencia, and Zamora in the kingdom of Leon; at Hinojosa, Aldea del Rio, Bujalance, and in the villages known under the denomination of los Pedroches, in the kingdom of Cordova; at Aulot, Gironne, Tarrassa, Capelladas, Centellas, Urgel, Sabadell, Camprodon, Solsono, Cardona, and Vich, in Catalonia; at Terrienta Moscardon, Frias, Linares, Cantnoieja, Villaroya, Alcala, Rubielos, Mosqueruola, Mora, Jaca, and the surrounding district, Saragossa, Epila, Belchite, Tarazona, Colcena, Huesca, Balbastro, Hijar, in Partido de Cinco Villas, and in that of Benavarra in Aragon.

In a general point of view the manufactures at the above-named places are not very considerable; those of Aragon, although numerous, scarcely use six thousand quintals of wool. At Guadalaxara there are about sixty looms; at Toledo four or five; at Gascueña forty. The greater part of the looms also are individually dispersed, and not collected in factories. La Puebla de Palencia manufactures annually about five thousand pieces of flannel, the estimated value of which is 1,616,550 reals, 404,137 livres tournois, (18,841*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*)

Ratteens are made at Aulot in Catalonia; Brihuega, and Guadalaxara, in New Castile. But those of Guadalaxara are the most esteemed.

The manufactories of coarse cloths are more numerous than those of the woollen articles above described. They are established at Estella, in Navarre; at Escoray in Biscay; at Grazalema in the kingdom of Seville; at Begar in Estremadura; at Bujalance Aldea-del-rio, and Hinojosa, in the kingdom of Cordova; at Toledo, Brihuega, and Chincoa in New Castile; at Villalta, Ajufrin, and Chiolano in the Campo de Muntiel in la Mancha; at Bocayrenta, Ontinenta, Enguera, Morella, and Alcoy in the kingdom of Valencia; at Aulot, Gironne, Terrassa, Capelladas, Centellas, Urgel, Esparraguera, Sabadell, Camprodon,

Camprodon, Cardona, Salsona, and Vich in Catalonia; at Burgos, and St. Domingo de la Calzada, in Old Castile; at Albarazin, Saragossa, Epila, Belchite, Tarazona, Huesca, Calcena and Balbastro in the district of Cincovillas in Aragon.

Upon the average about seven hundred pieces of second cloths are made annually at Valdemoro and Albarazin. Superfine cloths are also manufactured at Alcoy in the kingdom of Valencia; at Terrassa in Catalonia; at Guadalaxara, Segovia, and Brihuega, in New Castile; at Bejar in Estremadura; and at Ezcoray in Biscay. The cloths manufactured at Alcoy are of a firm texture, and receive little embellishment from dressing; but intrinsically of the most beautiful quality, equal at least to the fine cloths of Carcussonna. Those of Terrassa are still more superior, they nearly approximate to those made in Elbeuf. At Brihuega a hundred looms are employed, and the cloth manufactured there is of a most excellent quality; but the cloths of Segovia, and more particularly those of Guadalaxara, are of the very finest quality. In the last mentioned city are made the superfine cloths, called Vigogna cloths, before described.

Many of the manufactures of cloth, and other woollen stuffs, scattered over the country and only of private concern, are of small importance in a statistical point of view, because they consume comparatively but a small quantity of wool: Aragon, where they are the most numerous, does not use upon an annual average more than ten thousand quintals. Where the trade is carried on in factories it becomes of greater consideration; at Toledo are ten looms; at Guascueña forty; at Brihuega a hundred; but the trade at Guadalaxara is much more considerable, there are three hundred and six looms for weaving cloth, without reckoning those used in making serges. At Bejar are forty-five looms, which produce annually six or seven hundred pieces of cloth.

The woollen stuffs fabricated in Spain in general are of very inferior quality, the wool being imperfectly scoured, and the dying so badly executed that the colours are never permanent. This is the reason why the cloths, and other woollen

goods manufactured in foreign countries, are preferred to those made in Spain. The manufactures of Guadalaxara, of Segovia, Brihuega, and of Terrassa, should however be excepted from this reflection, for there the art is in a very improved state, and the cloth got up is of an excellent quality: yet the fulling and dying have not arrived there to that same degree of perfection as in France and England.

Silk Manufactures.

The making of blond lace is principally confined to the province of Catalonia; it is fabricated in the villages upon the sea coast, among others may be mentioned Arens del Mar, Pineda, Calela, Tosa, Martorell, Mataro, Esparraguera, and particularly Barcelona, where the manufacturing of this article employs about two thousand persons. There is no particular manufactory, but the business is in the hands of poor women and children, who sell the article at what price they can obtain for it.

At Almagro, in la Mancha, there is also a very considerable manufactory of blond lace, which gives employment to about twelve or thirteen hundred persons.

Silk stockings are woven at Malaga, Saragossa, Valencia, and in various other places in the kingdom of Valencia; at Valdemoro, and at Talavera de la Reyna in New Castile; and in different parts of Catalonia, more especially at Mataro, Arens del Mar, and Barcelona. The most extensive manufactory is carried on at the latter city, where the number of frames amounts to nine hundred; in the city of Mataro are fifty-two; in Valencia one hundred and fifty; and nearly as many in Talavera. The stockings made in Spain are of a loose texture, owing to the improper method in which silk-throwsting is conducted, they are badly dressed and worse glossed: the Spanish people themselves prefer French stockings, and most of those manufactured in the country are exported to America.

Ribands hold a distinguished place among the manufactured articles

articles of Spain. Some few are woven at Jaen, Granada, and Cordova, but more at Talavera. Cadiz has but twenty riband looms, Manresa five hundred, Mataro eighty, Vich twenty-two, Requena two hundred, Valencia four hundred, Murcia twelve hundred, and Barcelona nearly three thousand. These looms are not in factories, but individually dispersed. The Spanish ribands are in general thin and flimsy, have little lustre, and their colours are neither brilliant nor permanent.—Ribands are made of floss-silk at Toledo, where there are about twelve looms, and at Manresa, where is a greater number.

Silk taffeties, serges, and other articles, such as common and figured satins, damasks, plain and flowered velvets, are made at Jaen, Granada, Murcia, Valencia, and the adjacent villages; at Malaga, Saragossa, Toledo, Requeña, Talavera de la Reyna, Matara, Manresa, Cardona, and Barcelona. The silk trade of Jaen and Granada is at present in a very languishing state; the manufacture of Murcia is dwindled to a few individual looms; at Toledo are fifty looms, fifty at Mataro, forty at Malaga, six hundred at Requeña, four hundred at Talavera, which consume annually two hundred thousand pounds of silk; five hundred at Barcelona, which annually manufacture, in conjuction with those of Cardona and Manresa, about three thousand pounds weight of silk; in different parts of the kingdom of Valencia there are two hundred and forty-two looms, which annually use two hundred thousand pounds weight of silk; and in the city of Valencia are three thousand, whose annual demand of silk is eight hundred thousand pounds; and twenty-two thousand persons are employed in the trade. In Saragossa are sixty looms, which consume fifty thousand pounds of silk; but taffeties only are manufactured there. The cities of Toledo and Talavera de la Reyna are the only places where the looms are collected together in factories; in all other places they are separated, and are found individually at the houses of the respective weavers.

A greater portion of the silks manufactured in Spain are stout and excellent, but they are destitute of the brilliancy observable

servable in French silks. The damasks made at Valencia are extremely beautiful, and in that city they excel in the art of mixing silk and mohair, and produce mohair stuffs, which appear superior to those of France and England.

Quantities of silk handkerchiefs and bands are manufactured at Reus, Manresa, and Barcelona. Reus had five hundred looms, and Manresa six hundred, and annually made sixty thousand dozen handkerchiefs; and Barcelona a much larger quantity.

At Barcelona is a very considerable manufacture of white, coloured, plain, and figured gauzes.

The art of silk-throwsting tends greatly to the improvement of the silk manufactures in Spain. Machines also invented in other countries have been adopted, and in many places profitable changes and corrections have taken place in the trade. Silk is principally thrown at Priego, Toledo in Andalusia; at Murcia in the kingdom of the same name; at Cervera near Talavera de la Reyna in New Castile; at Valencia, at Milanesa near that city, at Gandia, San Felippe, and at Carcajente in the kingdom of Valencia. The silk-throwsters, who work at their own houses, and are paid in the great, that is, according to the quantity of work they perform, are very numerous in Murcia; but they perform the business there in a very slovenly way; in the city of Murcia a factory is established, where silk is thrown in an excellent manner by means of an ingenious machine, which has been already described. The establishment is a very important one, and well conducted at Milanesa. At Cervera are a dozen silk-mills, each having four large dividers, and six machines for doubling and twisting; by which seven thousand and seventy-two threads are divided, doubled, and twisted at the same time.

Manufactures of Gold and Silver Lace.

Gold and silver laced stuffs, and velvets of all colours brocaded and flowered with the same metals, are made at Toledo, Barcelona,

Barcelona, Valencia, Talavera de la Reyna; and the manufacture at the last-named city annually consumes four thousand marks of silver, and seventy marks of gold.

At Barcelona, Talavera de la Reyna, and Valencia, are also manufactured gold and silver edgings, lace, and fringe, though not in a sufficient quantity to answer the demands of Spain; and the gold is very badly prepared, having too red a cast.

Manufactures of Hempen and Linen Cloth.

The fabrication of linen cloth is far from having arrived at a very improved state in Spain; there are only two very considerable manufactories of this kind. Linen is generally made in the towns, villages, and country places, by what are called *custon* weavers, that is, such as either weave the yarn sent them at a certain price per yard, or travel about for that purpose; and the cloth is generally of a coarse and common kind, or what is termed *family cloth:* part of it is used by the persons who spin the thread, and part is sold by the country women in the different market towns.

Such kind of cloths is made in many villages in New Castile; at Burgos in Old Castile; at Oñate in Guipuzcoa; at Aviles and Gijon in the Asturias; at Murcia, Almanza, Villena, and in some few villages in the kingdom of Murcia; at Valencia, Alicant, Torrenta, Castellon de la Plana, and San Felippe in the kingdom of Valencia; in various places in Aragon; in the convent of Gironne, Agramunt, Bañolas, Capellades, Cardona, Mataro, and Vich in Catalonia. San Felippe is the place where the most are made in the kingdom of Valencia. The manufacturing of these cloths occupies a small portion of commerce; at Vich the annual consumption of hemp is nine thousand quintals, 8653 cwt. of hemp, and three thousand quintals, 2884½ cwt. of flax. The weavers of Aragon, upon an annual average, use four thousand quintals, 3446 cwt. of flax, and ten thousand quintals, 9631½ cwt. of hemp.

The greatest quantity of cloths of all descriptions is made

in

in Galicia; and some manufactured there are of a most excellent quality. Much is made in the diocese of Tuy, at Coruña, Allaris, Ribadeo, and in the convent of Sant-Iago. The estimated quantity of cloth manufactured in the above named province amounts annually to five millions, five hundred and fifty thousand varas, about 5,090,091 yards, of which eight hundred and fifty-nine thousand varas, 7880,73 yards, are exported to America; nineteen hundred thousand, 174,312 yards, are sent to the two Castiles, and the remainder is for home consumption. These are cloths of two sorts, coarse and fine, and the latter resemble the kind of cloth brought from Flanders and Westphalia.

This manufacture has lately been established in the Asturias, and a considerable quantity of cloth is now made at several places in that province, especially at Oviedo.

In New Castile are two manufactories of linen cloth, one at Alcazar de Toledo, and the other at St. Ildefonzo; the former has ten looms, and the latter, which was established by the king in the year 1782, employs twenty looms, and has a large machine for washing and pressing the cloths.

A great quantity of table-linen is made in those places where the linen manufacture is established; but none is of a superior quality. That made at Barcelona is however excellent, and Coruña imports more than any other place. The linen manufacture consists of three kinds of cloth, of very different qualities and prices. A complete service of table cloths, towels, &c. of the first class, sells for six hundred and twenty reals, one hundred fifty-five livres tournois (*6l.* 15*s.* 10*d.*); a service of the second class costs four hundred reals, one hundred livres tournois, (4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*); of the third class, which, in point of quality is the same as the second, but the towels are shorter, brings three hundred and twenty reals, eighty livres tournois, (3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*)

Cordage and cables for maritime purposes are manufactured in the three marine departments, Ferrol, Carthagena, and Cadiz, and also St. Sebastian in Guipuzcoa; at Sant Andero in Biscay;

Biscay; at Coruña in Galicia; at Castellon de la Plana, Grao, and Valencia. Sail-cloth is also made in the three naval departments, and at Grao and Castellon de la Plana, in the kingdom of Valencia; and at Mataro in Catalonia.

Quantities of thread stockings are woven at Barcelona and other places in Catalonia; but they are of an inferior quality. Some also are manufactured at Valdemoro in New Castile; at Coruña six frames are established by the merchants of that place as a kind of charitable factory, and two reals de vellon, or ten sous tournois, five pence, are daily given to every workman; and much thread is made in other parts of Galicia: the district of Bayonne alone manufactures annually about one hundred thousand dozen pair of stockings.

Various other articles composed of linen thread are manufactured in different places; as nets for the hair at Barcelona; laces at Barcelona, Pineda, Malgrat, San Celoni, Tosa, Calella, Canet, Areñs, San Pol, Mataro, Martorell, and Esparraguera in Catalonia; ribands are made at Valdemora in New Castile; at Coruña, Ribadeo, Sant-Iago, Mondoneda, and in some villages lying between Sant-Iago, and Pedron in Galicia; at Oviedo in the Asturias; and at Barcelona. This business also furnishes general employment for the women and children in Catalonia and Galicia; and the manufacture in the city of Barcelona alone employs twelve thousand persons.

Three schools for spinning hemp and flax were established in the year 1774 at Oviedo in the Asturias; and at Ribadeo and Sant-Iago in Galicia. These establishments, first made at the royal expence, were the cause of much controversy among many who were unacquainted with their usefulness and advantage.

The patriotic society of Saragossa, which, from the first moment of its institution, turned its views towards objects of utility, took this into consideration. Spinning schools were erected in a variety of places, which must be of importance in a country abounding with hemp and flax, and both of the finest quality; but not contented to rest here, it used every effort

effort to revive, to encourage, and to carry to perfection the linen manufacture; it established a fund for granting premiums to youths who most distinguished themselves by making improvements in the trade, many of which have already been distributed according to the merits of the respective candidates.

Cotton Manufactures.

A considerable quantity of stockings and caps are woven in Catalonia, at Gironne, Arens, Vich, Villanueva, Tarragona, Aulot, and Mataro; the latter town employs more than a hundred looms, and at Aulot there are six hundred. These articles are also manufactured at Avila and Valdemora in Old and New Castile.

Cotton ribands are made at Valdemora in New Castile, and more in Catalonia, at Manresa, Reus, Aulot, and Tarragona: at Reus are forty looms, at Manresa four hundred; at Tarragona nine thousand pieces are annually manufactured.

The cotton manufacture has been wonderfully increased within the last few years in Spain. Cottons of different qualities are made, such as superfine, fine, and common cloths; there are manufactories at Siguenza, Avila, Alicant, and San Lucar de Barameda. Catalonia is the province where cottons are principally made. There are factories at Gironne, Arens, Mataro, Tosa, Banulas, Reus, Aulot, and very considerable ones at Barcelona. A small quantity of cottons are made at Alicant; the manufacture at Avila occupies seven hundred persons; at Mataro are only two looms, at Aulot five, fourteen at San Lucar, two hundred and fifty at Reus, and at Barcelona more than three thousand. This latter city alone annually manufactures 204,000 pieces of all qualities, amounting to 4,458,000 varas of Castile, 2,622,522 Paris ells, about 4,089,908 yards, which sell for 35,610,000 reals, 8,857,000 livres tournois, (368,958*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*)

In many of these manufactories are made figured cottons both

both white and coloured; cotton velvets are made at San Lucar and at Barcelona, and in the latter city also a number of nankeens. The quantity of these three kinds of stuff, three thousand pieces, measuring 208,000 varas, 127,000 ells, 190,825 yards, which produce 1,040,000 livres tournois, (45,000*l.*)

Muslins are woven at San Lucar, Tarragona, and Barcelona, and in the latter city of superfines and fines are manufactured annually 3700 pieces containing 81,400 veras, 47,349 ells, 73,761 yards, which sell for 2,771,000 reals, 692,756 livres, (28,864*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.*)

At Barcelona and Reus are manufactories of light articles, plain, variegated, and flowered of divers colours. In two factories at Barcelona are made counterpanes, fustians, calicoes, both plain and figured cottons, and mixed stuffs of thread with cotton, and silk and cotton.

The manufacturing of what are termed *Indians*, that is printed cottons, is an article of importance in Catalonia. And although the calico is not very fine, the patterns are choice, and diversified, but the colours are seldom fixed. Eight factories are established at Igualada, nine at Vich, twelve at Reus, fourteen at Aulot, eighteen at Mataro, nineteen at Manresa, and four hundred at Barcelona. Establishments of this kind have also been lately set up at Puerto santa Maria, Xerez, and at the isle of Leon in the kingdom of Seville; which are in a flourishing state. Others have recently been set up at Avila, in Old Castile; and at Santiago de Sigras, in Galicia.

In the manufacture of Indians at Barcelona, the calicoes formerly used were brought from a foreign country; but since spinning-schools have been established in that city, the home-made calicoes have been substituted, and few of the manufactories now use foreign calicoes.

Cotton spinning was introduced at Barcelona in the year 1790, and establishments of this branch of the trade have been greatly increased; so that there are at present not less than a hundred spinning factories, some of which are very considerable.

derable. This department has recently been extended through Catalonia. At Aulot are two hundred spinning machines, and two hundred and fifty at Reus. There are also two factories for cotton-spinning at San Lucar de Barrameda.

Manufactures of Hides, Skins, upper and sole Leather.

Tanning, currying, and dressing hides, skins, and all kinds of leather, are very general through Spain. The leather trade is carried on,

In Aragon, at Calatayud, Huesca, Saragossa, and Brea.

In Valencia, at Elche, and Valencia.

In Catalonia, at Valls, Barcelona, Blanas, Vich; at Tortosa are seven factories, seven at Reus, and eight at Mataro.

In Navarre, at Pampeluna.

In Guipuzcoa, at San Sebastian.

In Alava, at Salvatiera.

In Biscay, at Marzon, Castrourdiales, Campuzano, and in the districts of Arrigariaga, of Begoña, Azna, Erandio, San-Pedro Deusto, and at Sant Andero: in these different places are twenty manufactories.

In Old Castile, at Melgar de Fermental.

In New Castile, at Alcala de Herrarez.

In Leon, at Zamora.

In the Asturias, at Gijon, Oviedo, and Cangas de Tineo.

In Galicia, at Allariz, San Estevande Pladela, and in the space between Santiago and Ferrol there are fourteen.

In Seville, at San Lucar de Barrameda.

In Granada, at Malaga, Antequera, Marbella, and Ronda.

In Jaen, at Alhama.

In Estremadura, at Zafra are three manufactories.

In la Mancha, at Ocana, and Compa de Criptana.

There are also some at Arevaca and Pozuelo.

The skins and hides prepared at the two latter places are in great repute. The manufactory at Melgar, which is very large, was established in the year 1771. Those of Saragossa, Huesca,

Huesca, and Calatayud, do not together afford annually above twenty-five thousand dressed skins; while the twenty which are at Brea alone produce forty thousand.

The greatest quantity of sole leather is manufactured in the provinces of Aragon and Catalonia. Eight hundred quintals are annually tanned in Aragon, and seven hundred and fifty quintals at Brea. Much more is tanned in Catalonia. For after the supply of its own consumption, it furnishes annually seven hundred thousand pair of soles; and further exports as much leather as produces four millions of reals, one million of livres tournois, 41,666l. 3s. 4d. The sole leather of Catalonia is of the very best quality. That of Aragon is inferior, which inferiority is attributed to the quantity of *pine* bark used in the tanning process.

Parchment and vellum are made in Navarre, and at Saragossa; but these are articles of trifling importance.

A particular branch of manufacture it may be proper to mention here, which is shoe-making, and this is almost exclusively peculiar to Catalonia. In some places of this province, more especially at Barcelona, a prodigious number of shoes are made, which supply the demands of the other provinces, and quantities besides are exported to America: upon the annual average seven hundred thousand pair.

Paper Manufacture.

Paper manufactures are numerous in Spain, though they are nearly confined to the provinces of the crown of Aragon.

There are none in any other part of the country, except one in Old Castile, near the Carthusian monastery of Paular; two in New Castile, near Cuença; one in Granada, at Arroye de la Miel; and three in Galicia, at Francos, Jubia, and Sant Julian de Armon.

There are paper manufactories at various places in Aragon, at Theca, Castejon, Calamocha, Sastricha, and Saragossa; but these are very inconsiderable.

Those at Segorbe, Buñols San Felipe, Altura, Ontiniente, Alcoy, Bocayrente in the kingdom of Valencia, are more extensive; those of Alcoy employ forty-eight mills.

Catalonia abounds with paper manufactories; the banks of the river Noya, from Martorell to Ignalada, are lined with mills. Some also are situated at Capellad, Alcover, San Celoni, Tortosa, Bereyte, Cenia, Valls, Aulot, and divers other places of this province. This department of trade has of late very much increased; the estimated number of mills in the year 1776, was eighty six, the number was augmented to a hundred and two in 1785; and at present it amounts to more than two hundred; which annually manufacture four hundred and forty-four thousand reams of paper.

The paper made in most of these places possesses little excellence; it is neither white, nor well manufactured: that made in Catalonia is the best.

Four manufactories of stained and marble papers were established about the year 1780; one at Madrid, and three at Barcelona: these articles are principally designed for America; but they are by no means equal to similar articles manufactured in France.

Manufactures of China and Delf Ware.

Manufactories of delf-ware at Avilez, Gijon, Oviedo, Nava Canis de Onis, in the Asturias; at Segovia in Old Castile; at Puenta del Arzobispo, and Talavera de la Reyna, in New Castile; at Seville in the kingdom of that name; at Villafelicho in Aragon; at Onda, Alcora, and Manisez, in the kingdom of Valencia; at Sant Andero in Biscay; and at Tortosa in Catalonia.

The manufacture of delf-ware at Talavera, which obtained great celebrity, has fallen into decay; what is now made there being a very common sort, and so is that made at Villafelicho. The ware of Manisez is better manufactured, and of a finer quality; there are several small potteries, and two of considerable

derable extent, which employ seventy workmen. The people occupied in these possess the art of producing a gold bronze colour, which they carefully keep a secret, never communicating it to any person. But the most important of these potteries is the one at Alcora; the delf of which is tolerably fine, though not of the first quality.

No china is made, except at Alcora and Madrid: that of the former place is very common, and inconsiderable as to quantity. The china manufactured at Madrid is beautiful, and without exaggeration may be considered as equalling that of Sevres. It is a royal pottery; but it is impossible to give any description of its state, because admission to the interior of the manufactory is strictly prohibited.

Notice would have been taken here of the delf paving-tiles, which are made at Manisez and Valencia, if it had not already been done.

Manufacture of Brandy.

Making brandy is chiefly confined to the states belonging to the crown of Aragon; distilleries are found in no other parts of the kingdom, except those of Estela, Sanguesa, and Fuente de la Reyna in Navarre; those of Villena and Sar in the kingdom of Murcia; and that of Santevedra in Galicia: but they are very inconsiderable.

In Aragon they are numerous, at Torres, Grans, Atheca, and in various other places; but, excepting those of Torres, none are of much importance: at Grans are four.

There are many in Catalonia, at Selva, Canet de Mar, Orens, Pineda, Acella, Calello, Manresa, Mataro, Tortosa, Villanova, Reus, Agremunt, Arens de Mar, Valls, Vilasar, and divers other places. The quantity of spirits annually distilled in these is about thirty thousand pipes.

In the kingdom of Valencia there is nearly an equal number of distilleries; these are at Torrente, Liria, Pedralva, Xerica, Murviedro, Segorbe, Altura, Aldaya, Chiva, Olleria,

Benigani, Chesta, and Ontiniente in the lordship of Carlet, &c. The quantity of spirits made on the annual average amounts to about five or six hundred cantaras, each cantara* containing ten pints and a half of Parisian measure, four gallons $\frac{2}{2}\frac{3}{3}\frac{1}{1}$ of English wine measure.

Brewing Beer.

The number of English people, who occasionally visit, or reside in Spain, have introduced the use of beer as a beverage in some maritime parts of Biscay. From this custom has resulted a new branch of manufacture: four breweries have been established at Sant Andero, and recently one has been erected at Madrid.

Manufacture of Aquafortis.

There appears to be but one aquafortis manufactory in Spain; which is at Manresa in Catalonia.

Manufacture of Salt of Lead.†

Two manufactories for preparing salt of lead have long been established at Manresa in Catalonia.

Manufacture of Pewter Buttons.

At Gijon in the Asturias is a manufactory of pewter ‡ buttons, probably the only one in Spain.

* The cantara wine measure of Spain contains 947 cubic inches, the gallon wine measure of England 231; hence results this equation, 24,39 = 100 = 100: that is, the former is, in proportion to the latter as a fractional part more than as 4 to 1. The Valencian cantara, however, contains only 775$\frac{1}{2}$ cubic inches. Dubost's Elements of Commerce, vol. ii. tab. 7.—T.

† This is the drug called in our different Pharmacopœias Saccharum Saturni, Lythargyrum Acetatum, &c. &c. and which forms the principal ingredient in the celebrated nostrum called Goulard's Lotion.—T.

‡ This is a mixed metal, containing a large portion of tin, and is both in France and Spain a very different composition to what is known under the denomination of *pewter* in England.—T.

Pin

Pin Manufactures.

Pins are manufactured in many towns of Spain. They are in general made by individual or isolated workmen: but there are two very considerable manufactories at Corunna in Galicia.

Manufactures of Iron, Copper, and Brass.

The principal iron factories and forges of Spain are in Catalonia, Aragon, the three provinces of Biscay, and in the Asturias. Eleven are enumerated in the Asturias; fifteen in Guipuscoa, sixteen in Biscay proper, which manufacture annually about one hundred thousand quintals, 96,153¾ cwt. of iron; twenty-five in the district of Sant Andero alone, which annually produce twenty-four thousand quintals, 23,075¼ cwt. of iron. The principal forges of Aragon are those of San Pedro in the territory of Albarrazin, Origuela, Xea, Torres, and Tormon; in each district there is, on an annual average, manufactured about two thousand five hundred quintals, 2483¾ cwt. of iron.

Biscay might have a far greater number of forges, or at least it might greatly improve those which it possesses. This province contains numerous iron mines, that of Somosostros, more especially, is very prolific, furnishing an abundance of ore and of an excellent quality; but it is common to the whole world.—Every person may dig there, take whatever quantity he chooses, sell it agreeably to his wishes, or send it where he pleases: the greater portion of the ore from this mine is sent into the adjoining provinces. The largest forge in Guipuscoa is that of Aspeitoa. This country at a former period has been so filled with forges, that the forests which once covered it are nearly destroyed. Not any of the best conducted forges of Biscay, Alava, and Guipuscoa, yield the proprietors above from 200 ducats, 855 livres tournois, 341. 7s. 6d to 500 ducats, 1375 livres tournois, 571. 5s. 10d. annual profit: while the profits of those in Aragon are nearly double: the

first, on an average, do not produce a thousand quintals, 969½ cwt. of iron each; while the last fabricate two thousand five hundred, 2403¾ cwt.

Spain has also numerous iron mills. There are many near Tolosa; twelve in Biscay; forty-eight in the Asturias; and one in New Castile. These equally manufacture iron and copper; those in the Asturias are thus appropriated—two for copper, nine for bar iron, and thirty-seven for the nail trade.

Iron founderies are established at Egui in Navarre; Renteria in Guipuscoa, and in the vicinity of Oviedo, and Sant Jago de Sargadelos, in the Asturias.

Steel is manufactured at Utrillos in Aragon, but in no very considerable quantity.

Locks and various iron utensils are made in divers places. Lock-smiths are numerous at Vega de Ribadeo in Galicia, at Helgoivar in Biscay at Vergera in Guipuscoa; at Solsona, and Cardona in Catalonia. Different kinds of iron goods are manufactured at Vergera, Solsona, and Cardona. The articles made of iron and steel at Solsona are in high estimation, notwithstanding they are destitute of taste and elegance, badly finished, and worse polished; and can by no means be put in competition with similar articles introduced from other countries.

Cutlery goods are also manufactured at Solsona and Cardona in Catalonia; at Mora in New Castile; and at Albacete in Murcia.

The cutlery of Solsona is in great repute; but the largest quantity is made at Albacete. In the latter place are about twenty-eight working cutlers, each of whom employs five or six journeymen, who respectively manufacture annually six or seven thousand pieces, amounting in the whole to about one hundred and eighty thousand pieces.

Shears, for the use of the cloathing trade, are particularly manufactured at Monistrol, and Aulot in Catalonia.

Copper manufactories, especially for making furnaces, kettles, &c. of all sizes, are established at Sant Jago de Sargadelos

delos in Galicia; at Tolosa in Guipuscoa; and at Balmuseda in Biscay; at the latter place are fourteen factories.

A manufactory of steel and brass needles, and brass nails, has recently been introduced into Valencia, and also into Catalonia.

Manufactures of Glass, Mirrors, &c.

In Catalonia are two glass-houses, but the glass blown in them is dark, and destitute of lustre. Aragon has four, one at Altaman, one at Peñalmas, one at Utrillas, and one at Jaulin, which is the largest; but the quality of the glass is not superior to that of Catalonia: the glass-house at Utrillas produces both flint and common glass. Glass-houses are also established at Pajarejo and at Recuenco in Castile, which manufacture the most beautifully white and transparent glass. The one at Sant Ildefonso is the largest of any, where excellent bottles are made, and articles of flint glass, which are ingeniously cut. At Barcelona is a manufactory of window glass in sheets of different sizes; some run forty inches by thirty-six.

The beautiful manufacture of mirrors at Sant Ildefonso has been already noticed.

Soap Manufacture.

Two kinds of soap are made in Spain; one is soft, and of a brown colour; the other is hard in bricks, white, and marbled: the first kind is used for washing, the second both for washing and the use of the toilet.

Inferior soap is manufactured in different places of Aragon; at Talavera de la Reyna in New Castile, where are six manufactories; in almost every part of the kingdom of Valencia and Murcia; and there are four manufactories at Tortosa in Catalonia.

Hard soap is manufactured at Ocaña, in la Mancha; at Aulot, Mataro, Tortosa, Villanova, in Catalonia; at Villena, and Mur-

cia, in the kingdom of Murcia; at San Lucar and Brene in the kingdom of Seville; at Alcoy, and Elche, in that of Valencia; and at Ontigola in New Castile: Mataro has two manufactories, Elche two, Tortosa one, and Ocaña four.

Manufacture of Hats.

Hats are made in a variety of places, at Madrid, Guadalaxara, Talavera de la Reyna, in New Castile; at Palencia Zamora in the kingdom of Leon; and Zafra and Badajoz in Estremadura; at Seville, Cordova, San Lucar de Barrameda in Seville; at Corunna, Vigo, Pontevedra, Sant Iago, and Tuy in Galicia; at Oviedo and Gijon in the Asturias; and at Barcelona and Manresa: at Pontevedra, Zafra, and Manresa are two factories, three at Sant Jago and Madrid, four at Barcelona, and five at Corunna: but the best hats are made at Badajoz.

Manufactures for Maritime Purposes.

The manufactures of sail cloth and naval cordage have been previously noticed, it remains to mention that of anchors. In Guipuscoa there are fourteen anchor-smith factories, and more at Hernani, Arazubia, Pineda Mulgrat, Sal Pol, Calella, Arenys de Mar in Catalonia; at Ampuero in the canton of Anteiglesia de Begona, and other places of Biscay; and in each of the three marine departments, Ferrol, Cadiz, and Carthagena.

Manufactures of Arms and Ammunition.

Saltpetre is an important article in Spanish manufactures. It is made on an extensive scale almost every where on the king's account The largest manufactories are at Almeria, Granada, Motril, Anover, Madrid, Pedroñera Tembleque, Alcazar de San Juan, Murcia and Agramunt. Those of New Castile, la Mancha, and Murcia, have been before noticed; the

the saltpetre made at Almeria undergoes there only the first preparation, it is then sent to Granada, where it is refined by the process of crystalization, without the use of fixed alkali.

Gunpowder is also made on government account. There are powder mills at Granada, Murcia, Alcazar de San Juan, Manresa and Villafeliche: the manufactory at the last place is very considerable, it keeps seventy mills in constant employ.

The king had two manufactories of bullets and shells at Egui in Navarre; and at San Sebastian de la Muga in Catalonia, upon the frontiers of France: these were beautiful and extensive establishments; but they were entirely destroyed in the year 1794. The manufactures were removed to Sant Jago de Sargadelos in Galicia; and to Cantajo de Grado in the Asturias; where they are at present established. There are other similar manufactories at Lierganes and Cabada in Biscay, which are also conducted on the king's account.

Polished arms, such as swords, sabres, hangers, or hunting swords, and bayonets are made at Toledo and Barcelona: the blades forged in the former city are of an excellent temper. A little sword cutlery is also carried on at Tolosa in Guipuscoa.

Fire arms, such as fusees, musquets, carbines, and pistols, are manufactured at Helgoivar, Eybor, and Plasencia in Guipuscoa; at Oviedo, Barcelona, Igualada, and at Ripoli; the arms made at the latter city have long had a distinguished reputation. Seven hundred and sixty-five gunsmiths it is estimated find employment in the factories of Guipuscoa.

Two excellent founderies for brass cannon are royal establishments at Barcelona and Seville; in the latter city *copper* cannon are cast, according to the method recommended by M. Maritz. Iron ordnance are made at Lierganez, and Cavada.

Manufacture of Tobacco.

There is only one manufactory where tobacco is prepared in Spain, which is at Seville; and forms a very extensive establishment. The factory erected for the purpose is an immense

mense building of modern construction. The business is conducted on the government account; and the annual proceeds of profit amount to about 80,000,000 of reals, 20,000,000 livres tournois, 833,333 l. 3s. 4d. The tobacco prepared in powder is commonly called *polvillo* by the Spaniards, and by other nations *Spanish snuff*. It is the tobacco grown in the Brazils, the island of Cuba, and some other Spanish colonies, which they use for making snuff; the leaves, when dried, are reduced with facility into an impalpable powder: this is mixed with a very fine unctuous reddish earth, pure, and free from sand, found in the environs of Almazarron, a village in the kingdom of Murcia, upon the chain of mountains, that extend towards the sea in the vicinity of Carthagena. This earth fixes the volatile particles of the tobacco, gives it various shades of red colour, and communicates to it an unctuosity and delicacy of scent; properties very desirable in the preparation of olfactory tobacco: the operations are not very complicated in this kind of manufacture.

The preparation of rolled and cut tobacco not being formerly known in Spain, those kinds became an article of contraband traffic, so extensive as considerably to injure the sale of Spanish tobacco. And, notwithstanding the unremitting vigilance of the government, and the various preventive methods adopted, the enormous penalties levied upon such as were detected in the infringement of the prohibitory statutes, and in which cases no mercy was shown, this fraudulent trade had increased to an alarming extent: full the moiety of Spanish population used cut tobacco, although constrained to purchase it at a very high price. The smugglers obtained a given quantity of the article from the dealers in France for thirteen reals, three livres, five sols, tournois, two shillings and eight pence, and sold it to the Spaniards for forty reals, ten livres, eight shillings and four pence. No other method could be devised for the prevention of this illicit trade, after many fruitless attempts, but the forming an establishment for similar preparations; and the first was formed on government account about the

year

year 1785 or 1786. This article was disposed of by public sale at a fixed price, which at the commencement was far below that obtained by the smugglers; but still too high above the selling price in France to prevent the introduction of the article from that country.

On government account also a third kind of tobacco, prepared for smoking, is sold; this is composed of thin stripes of the leaves rolled up in short pieces, which are termed *cigarros*; they are not prepared in Spain, but imported from the American colonies; and those brought from the Havanna are most esteemed. This kind of tobacco, in a thoroughly prepared state, costs the government two reals, six sols tournois, five pence per pound, and it is again sold for fifty reals, twelve livres, six sols, ten shillings and five pence. There is a prodigious consumption of these cigarros in Spain, and a vast quantity are annually exported to foreign countries.

The manufacture of tobacco at Seville comprises two hundred and two mills, which are turned by three hundred horses or mules; forty-eight are separate, the motion being isolated; and one hundred and fifty-four are kept in motion by twenty-nine machines, some of which communicate power to two, and others to six mills each. The various operations daily employ fourteen hundred and four persons; in which number are reckoned fifty-three agents, directors and sub-directors, fifty-one in subaltern departments, and thirteen hundred mechanics. The preparation of cut tobacco occupies twenty-three mills, in which three hundred workmen are usually employed.

Spanish snuff costs government eight reals, two livres tournois, one shilling and eight pence per pound, including the price of tobacco in leaf, the freightage, commission, and expense of preparation; and when prepared it sold at one time for thirty reals, seven livres, ten sols tournois, six shillings and three pence per pound; the price was afterwards advanced to forty reals, ten livres tournois, eight shillings and four pence; and it sells at present at fifty reals, twelve livres, ten

ten sols, ten shillings and five pence. Cut tobacco, which stands government in about six reals, thirty sols tournois per pound, at one time sold for twenty-six reals six livres, ten sols, five shillings and five pence, and at present sells for forty-two reals, ten livres, ten sols, eight shillings and nine pence per pound.

This tobacco manufactory does not merely supply Spain with the article, but vast quantities of snuff are exported, which finds a market in different foreign countries. The impolitic parsimony of government, in the augmentation of the price, has for some years past considerably diminished this profitable branch of commerce. Fearing it should lose, or, more properly speaking, it should gain less, by the rejection of damaged tobacco, which was usually employed, the article produced was consequently of an inferior quality, and the price which had been thirty reals, seven livres, ten sols tournois, six shillings and three pence, was risen at the same time to forty reals, ten livres, eight shillings and four pence, per pound: these two causes, progressively operating, diminished the demands, and greatly contracted the export trade. Recently, however, tobacco, if very much damaged, has been rejected and burnt; but the price has not been reduced; on the contrary it has been advanced to foreign purchasers; selling at present for fifty reals, twelve livres, ten sols, ten shillings and five pence per pound.

The net profit the king of Spain derives from this manufacture, after all expenses are deducted, amounts to about eighty millions of reals, twenty millions of livres tournois, 833,333l. 3s. 4d. But this profit lately has been much reduced since the manufactured tobacco has been of an inferior quality, and the advance taken place in the price. Yet the advantages would be much greater at the present period, if the former plan were adopted of rejecting damaged tobacco, and the manufactured article were as formerly sold to foreigners at thirty reals, seven livres, ten sols, six shillings and three pence per pound.

Spain purchases nearly the whole of the raw material it manufactures

manufactures of the Portuguese, although its own colonies produce tobacco of a most excellent quality; viz. in Mexico, the parts of the Caracas bordering upon the coast, Louisiana and Trinidad. The company of Guipuscoa alone imported into Spain, during the space of eight years, from 1756 to 1764, twenty-two thousand one hundred and twenty quintals, 21,364 cwt.; and nine thousand and fifty-two quintals, 8703¾ cwt. during the space of five years, from 1769 to 1774; subsequently to these epochs the sale of Mexican tobacco produced four millions of piastres fifteen millions of livres tournois, 625,000l. in the year 1778; and in the year 1784, six millions of piastres, twenty-two millions five hundred thousand livres, 937,500l.

Manufacture of White Wax.

A bleachery of wax was established at Puerto de Santa Maria in the kingdom of Seville; but the wax is very imperfectly purified, and badly bleached.

Manufacture of Potash.

A manufactory for making potash was established some years since at Valencia; and in 1799 it continued in a flourishing state.

Manufacture of inlaid or veneered Articles.

At Madrid is a manufactory of inlaid work in marbles, which are variegated with various devices in divers colours: it belongs to the king, and has been already noticed.

Manufacture of Tapestry.

In the capital is another manufacture, which is also conducted wholly on the king's account, where carpets and tapestry, both of high and low value, are manufactured; which also have been previously described.

Manu-

Manufacture of Playing Cards.

Playing or hazard cards are manufactured in various places in Spain; but the greatest number are made at *Macharaviaya* near Velez-Malaga, in the kingdom of Granada; and the manufactories of that town furnish nearly the whole consumption of the Spanish colonies. A number are also made at Aulot in Catalonia.

Manufacture of Articles made of the Aloe.

The species of aloe called the European aloe, Aloe dichotoma, is abundant in Spain, particularly the southern provinces; from the bark of this, by a certain process, a thread is obtained, with which lace is made at Barcelona, and quantities of small twine, horses' *traces* and halters, in the kingdom of Valencia.

Manufacture of Articles made of Spartum.

One half of Spain is covered with a herb called *spartum*, from which is prepared a thread manufactured into cloth; the principal manufactory is at Daymiel, where it was first established in the reign of Charles the Third, who assisted the first inventor from his privy purse. Of this are made cordage of all sizes, carpets, mats, coverlids, shoes, baskets, and a great variety of articles; which resist water and friction better than similar ones manufactured from hemp: men, women, and children, employ themselves in this trade, when not more profitably occupied. The kingdoms of Valencia and that of Murcia are the provinces where this fabric is most general, and in them it forms an object of considerable importance.

Manufacture of Sugar.

The culture of the sugar-cane was in a flourishing state in Andalusia previous to the discovery of the New World, and especially

especially under the Moorish dynasty; and the cultivation of canes is still continued on the side of the province adjacent to Granada, where the soil is excellent, and the fine temperature of the air favours improving the plantations by occasionally importing fresh and vigorous plants from America.

In the tract of country between Malaga and Gibraltar, there still remain twelve sugar mills; and the canes cultivated in this part of Spain yield an equal quantity of sugar with those in the American plantations. The erection of each mill costs at least four hundred thousand reals, one hundred thousand livres tournois, 4111 l. 3s. 4d. and a considerable quantity of sugar is made, which is of an excellent quality. The method of making, and other particulars, have been already detailed.*

This is a brief statement of the present state of manufactures in Spain, and it must be granted that the view is not a flattering one, when compared with the state in which the several branches of productive industry, more especially many similar manufactures are in, at present, both in France and England. The mercantile fabrics of Spain possess none of those qualities, which give such a pre-eminence to the manufactured articles of the two former kingdoms. The heavy sums paid for the raw materials, and the great expense in manufacturing, enhances the price equal to that of foreign merchandise. And the quantity manufactured, so far from allowing any exportation to other countries, is not adequate to supply the demands of Spain and her colonies; so that the kingdom is obliged to import large quantities of

* Vol. ii. Malaga and Gibraltar.

manufactured

manufactured goods from Holland, England, Germany, and France. The Count de Campomanez, in the year 1775, observed that eight millions of people, belonging to the Spanish monarchy, were clothed with foreign manufactures.

The very high price at which goods manufactured in Spain sell, arises from a combination of causes. The dearness of provisions, the great expense of manual labour, the few hours workmen labour in the course of the day, the number of holydays in which none or very little work is performed, the difficulty and high rate of conveyance of articles used in the manufactories, from want of canals, navigable rivers, good roads, and convenient carriages; and the duties imposed not only upon the raw, but also upon the manufactured article, the continual restraint resulting from fiscal obligation, the domiciliary visits, the difficulties continually arising from persons employed in collecting the customs; are all so many obstacles which hinder the sale of national manufactures, and consequently impede the progress of national prosperity.

Still if the manufacturing condition of Spain at the present period be compared with what it was in the seventeenth century, and towards the middle of the eighteenth, it will be found in a flourishing state, and that it has made in the course of a short period a prodigious progress. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, Spain had

few

few manufactures, most of the manufactured articles it consumed were imported; and at the present time it supplies in a great measure, not only its own wants, but those of the colonies, and also furnishes several parts of the continent with many of its superabundant articles.

At that period, as previously observed, a very singular local change happened in the manufacturing department; the trade was suddenly removed from the provinces belonging to the crown of Castile, to those annexed to the crown of Aragon; not only the existing manufactures were increased, but new ones were established; government also encouraged them by exemptions, privileges, and bounties; premiums were awarded to trade, many of the duties were taken off; and articles of foreign manufacture were either intirely prohibited, or charged with heavy duties, so as to prevent their rivaling the manufactures of the country.

The people seconded the wishes and conduct of their sovereign, and in many instances they anticipated the views of government; instantaneously as it were emulation sprang up, a spirit of rivalry revived, and in this rational and beneficial contention two provinces peculiarly distinguished themselves, Catalonia, and Valencia. Every thing seemed to promise that manufactures would gradually increase, and that trade would arrive at the greatest possible degree of perfection it could ever attain. But experience has shewn, that the view

was too flattering, and that many obstacles still remain to be removed before this desirable object can be obtained. Numerous impolitic institutions, a variety of abuses, which time and custom have rendered sacred, by being actually incorporated with the administration, and the financial system, clog and retard the progress of manufacturing improvement.

The number of petty schools, monastic seminaries, colleges, and universities, very materially contribute to diminish the number of persons, who might by their industry tend to advance the interests of arts and manufactures. These abuses, and the disadvantages resulting from them, have been more particularly noticed in speaking upon the subject of agriculture.

The multifarious duties form new chains to fetter trade. They are in the first instance sufficiently heavy upon the raw material; others are again imposed upon the manufactured article; they are further exacted as often as the goods are disposed of from hand to hand, from the grower or dealer to the manufacturer, from the manufacturer to the merchant, from the merchant to the retail trader, and from the retail trader to the hawker. The diminution or total discontinuance of these duties would be a measure equally important with the abrogation of the *millones* and the *alcavala*, which attach to the produce of the soil.

The insolence of tax gatherers and inspectors, the numerous forms, and continual difficulties, occurring

ring from the ignorance or iniquity of subaltern agents, waste much of the manufacturer's time, and tend greatly to perplex and disgust his mind.

A number of other abuses might here be enumerated, the suppression of which would greatly facilitate the developement of a spirited and extended manufacturing trade.

CHAP. IV.

COMMERCE.

THE state of Spanish manufactures, in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, will form a tolerably accurate clue to that of commerce at the same period. It was then in a most flourishing condition, and its ramifications extended to all parts of Europe. The cities of Medina del Campo, Rio Seco, Burgos, Segovia, Toledo, Cuença, Granada, Almeria, Cordova, Jaen, Seville, Barcelona, Valencia, Ciudad Real, and Sant Jago, carried on a very extensive commerce.

Almeria, Valencia, and Barcelona, pushed their commercial concerns into Syria, Egypt, Barbary, and the Archipelago. These cities were equally important, in a mercantile view, with the Hanseatic towns Barcelona had a very great foreign trade, after the commencement of the fourteenth century, under the kings of Aragon; it equipped and maintained armed ships for the defence of the Catalonian coast and the protection of its trade. It established factories in the extreme parts of Europe and Asia, as far as the river Tanais: kept a consul, who represented the city, and who was presented to Tamerlane the Great,

Great, in the year 1397, when he returned in triumph from his military expedition into Muscovy, and the Kipzac, a country lying east and west of the Caspian sea, and the river Volga.

The port of Almeria was not less celebrated under the Arabs in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; but it began to decline in consequence of the plague, brought by a vessel entering this port, and which committed its direful ravages over the greater part of Spain in the years 1348 and 1349: however, subsequent to that period it continued in a respectable state: the epoch of its annihilation must be attributed to the expulsion of the Moors.

Spain at that period had a large navy, and its shipping trade was immense. If the account of *Thome Cano*, in his *Arte de construir navis*, be admitted, it possessed a thousand merchant vessels, at a time when the European marine was far less extensive than it is at present. The ships were built at the port, and constructed of timber grown in the vicinity.

Yet scarcely any part of these large commercial concerns were in the hands of the Spaniards; addicted to arms, they neglected trade; the Jews, who domineered through the whole country, except in Catalonia and the kingdom of Valencia, engrossed the whole; while the Spaniards were either engaged in war, or indulging themselves in a state of peace, the Moors conducted their agricultural and manu-

facturing concerns, and the Jews became their merchants and bankers.

Decline of Commerce.

The expulsion of the Jews, in the year 1492, deprived Spain of its most active merchants; the impolitic measure gave such a severe blow to commerce, that it with difficulty recovered, even aided by the activity of the Moors and foreign industry. The losses which agriculture and manufactures sustained at the end of the sixteenth and the commencement of the seventeenth centuries gave the fatal stroke; and the expulsion of the Moors in 1614, the great depopulation of the country, the general debility of the monarchy, and the constant state of warfare in which the kingdom was engaged, completed its destruction. Commerce deprived of its active and intelligent agents, and ceasing to be nourished by the produce of the soil, manufactures instantaneously disappeared.

Spain could no longer boast of its shipping interest, ship-building was at an end; what few ships it possessed, were purchased from foreign yards, and its merchants were almost wholly foreigners. Its commerce fell into a passive state, and consequent decay and ruin.

The establishment of the Algerine regency contributed in no small degree to accelerate the annihilation of commerce. Pirates from the coasts of Barbary

Barbary infested the Mediterranean sea, who seized all the Spanish ships which sailed from the southern ports, and frequently made incursions on the coast and took off numbers of Spaniards captives. Spain was so enfeebled as to be totally unable to avenge her cause, or to retaliate on the Corsairs, and alike inadequate to defend commerce or the coast, the merchants could not send a ship to sea, and the whole trade of the country was carried on in foreign bottoms.

The government had also adopted a system peculiarly calculated to paralyze commerce; it had restricted the colonial trade to entering by one port only on the continent. At first Seville had the exclusive privilege, but Cadiz was in possession of it in the year 1720. The numerous other Spanish ports debarred having any direct connection with the American colonies and the West Indies, their commerce consequently languished from the inability to use the same exertions, which procured such amazing wealth for the port of Cadiz. The last-mentioned port sent a fleet to the colonies only once a year, afterwards it was divided into two. Yet monopoly rendered this branch of commerce but of small extent, and of little importance to the mother country; because it was in the hands of a few opulent mercantile houses, who prevented competition, and advanced or lowered the price of their merchandize at their pleasure, and who never imported a sufficient quantity at a time, to render the

price moderate: for towards the middle of the seventeenth century, when the commerce between Seville and the American colonies was at its acmé, the fleet never consisted of more than 27,500 tons. Subsequent to that period *register-ships* were allowed to sail, sent by merchants belonging to the same port, during the intervals between the sailing of the fleets; but this new establishment was attended with similar inconveniencies.

An act of the Spanish government arising from a mistaken policy, operated still further to the prejudice of commerce. During the war which originated in a dispute about the succession to the crown, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, Philip the Fifth prohibited the exportation of all produce of the country to the nations with whom he was at war. The English had before imported their wine from Spain, afterward they purchased it of the Portuguese; and having established a commercial treaty with Portugal they did not, after peace was restored, renew their connection with Spain; consequently this branch of profitable export was lost.

The country at different times made fruitless attempts to revive its commerce, but those feeble and insufficient efforts served only to shew the imbecility of government.

Philip the Fourth endeavoured to establish consuls in different places abroad, but his designs were never executed. Charles, his son and successor,

cessor, instituted a *Junta de commercio*, which was supported for a short time, when suddenly its functions intirely ceased.

Revival of Commerce.

Philip was scarcely in quiet possession of the throne, before he turned his attention to the revival of commerce; he encouraged manufactures, and bestowed honorary rewards on trade; he granted premiums to merchants, and instituted commercial boards. Charles the third permitted a general trade between Vent, Cuba, Hispaniola, Portorico, Marguerita, Trinidad, Louisana, Yucatan, and Campechy; and the ports of Seville, Carthagena, Alicant, Barcelona, Corunna, Sant Andero, and Gijon: to this privilege was annexed great moderation in the duties imposed upon the imported merchandise, and the numerous and oppressive ordinary forms were dispensed with. The same monarch, in the year 1764, established packet-boats, which regularly sailed every month to the Havanna and Portorico; and others every two months for Rio de la Plata; and granted liberty to every packet-boat to take out half a cargo of Spanish produce, and return half freighted with the productions of America.

The people of Spain returned to a tranquil state, and at the same time stimulated by the example of foreigners, resident among them, with a desire to excel

excel each other, coincided with the wishes of their new sovereign, and devoted their powers to commerce. Suddenly was displayed a spirit and activity of which they seemed incapable; the ports were filled, and the sea was covered with shipping; they ceased to purchase foreign-built ships, but constructed them at home; their dock-yards for shipbuilding quickly increased: and at present there are yards for building armed vessels at Ferrol, Cadiz, and Carthagena; and for merchant vessels at Bilbao, Corunna, Cadiz, and along the whole coasts of the kingdoms of Valencia and Catalonia. Notwithstanding nearly the whole coasting trade of Spain is yet carried on by the French, the English, and the Dutch. The Catalonian, Valencian, and Biscayan vessels are the only national vessels which participate in this trade. The merchant vessels belonging to Spain are destined for the American rather than the coasting trade.

The merchants soon formed a communication between the ports of Spain, and those parts of the colonies with which they had been permitted to trade. The advantages resulting were obvious from the increase of the custom-house dues. The revenue at the Havanna amounted annually to 22,000 pezos, 110,000 livres tournois, 8333l. 1s. 8d.; at Yucatan to 10,000 pezos, 50,000 livres tournois, 2083l. 1s. 8d.; at Hispaniola 4500 pezos, 22,500 livres tournois, 937*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*; and the merchandise imported into Spain, from the island of

of Cuba, amounted in the year 1774 to a sum total of 1,500,000 pezos, 7,500,000 livres tournois, 312,500*l.*

About the year 1728, a company was established, that renewed the cocoa trade with the Caracas, which the Dutch had previously possessed; this was known under the name of the Caracas company of Guipuscoa, of which the central agency was at San Sebastian. This establishment produced evident, prompt, and extensive advantages.

From the year 1706 to 1726, a space of twenty years, five ships only sailed for the Caracas from Spain, and the import into the Spanish ports did not exceed 643,215 fanegas of cocoa, each fanega consisting of one hundred and ten pounds, giving an annual average of 32,160 fanegas. In the succeeding period, from the year 1731 to 1749, a space of eighteen years, the importation amounted to 869,247 fanegas, making the quantity of 48,291 fanegas for each year; from the year 1769 to 1774, a space of little more than four years, had imported 179,156 fanegas, making an annual average of 44,789 fanegas; and at the same time 221,432 pezos or 1,107,160 livres tournois, 49,135*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* in specie, arising from the sale of cocoa which had been sent to Mexico. And cocoa which sold for 80 pezos, 400 livres tournois, 16*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* the fanega, now sells for 40 pezos or 200 livres, 8*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*

This company at that time imported tobacco and

and hides from the Caracas, which had not been done before. The quantity of tobacco imported amounted to 22,120 quintals, and the number of hides to 177,354 from the year 1756 to 1764, and from 1769 to 1774,75,496 hides and 9,052 quintals of tobacco.

At the commencement of the American war the company met with a reverse of fortune, it sustained a loss of 1,500,000 piastres, 7,500,000 livres tournois, 312,500*l.*; various abuses crept into the administration of its affairs, which enriched its agents, and excited the complaints of the colonies: these and other circumstances led to its suppression, about the year 1781 or 1782. Since its dissolution the port of San Sebastian has carried on a constant trade with the Caracas.

King Ferdinand the Sixth, in the year 1755, gave permission to a company, composed of merchants residing at Barcelona, to make voyages to Sant Domingo, Portorico, and Marguerita; but that monarch accompanied the privilege with so many restrictions, that it proved of little benefit to the company.

In the year 1784, a new company was formed under the firm of *The Philippines*. The ships belonging to this concern sailed from Cadiz. Its commencement was very promising, but soon after it met with many unfavourable circumstances, and has sustained very heavy losses; yet at the close of the year 1796 it derived a profit of nearly 22,000,000

of

of reals, 5,500,000 livres tournois, 229,166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

This company might, if so disposed, injure the national manufactures by the quantity of foreign articles, such as silk and muslins, it is capable of importing.

Internal or Home Trade.

The internal trade of Spain, that is to say, between one province and another, is very inconsiderable, for want of sufficient means of communication. The kingdom is totally destitute of navigable rivers and canals: upon this subject may be consulted what has previously been observed respecting roads and canals. The roads for a long period were nearly impassable in Spain; but about the beginning of the eighteenth century fine and commodious roads were opened; many of which are not inferior to the best in any other countries of Europe. When the roads were in a bad state, all carriage was performed by beasts of burden, which was consequently difficult, tedious, and expensive. Attachment to ancient customs still perpetuates this method of conveying merchandise, for although many of the present roads admit carriages, Catalonia and the kingdom of Valencia are the only provinces where waggons and carts have been generally adopted. A few are used in Aragon; those made use of in other provinces are a kind

kind of heavy carriages, exceedingly small, very inconvenient, and chiefly drawn by oxen.

The trade of the interior chiefly consists in the exportation and importation of national produce and manufactures, from one province to another.

THE THREE DISTRICTS OF BISCAY have no surplus commodities to export to the adjacent provinces, except a quantity of iron ore from the great iron mine of Somosostro. Biscay proper and Guipuscoa supply a few adjacent provinces with nails, anchors, bar and wrought iron; Guipuscoa furnishes a small quantity of polished goods, and firearms; and Biscay some hides, skins, and dressed leather, cordage for the shipping-trade, and a few cloths manufactured at Escoray, which find a sale in the Castiles. But these articles are far from being equivalent to those which the three districts receive from other provinces.

GALICIA exports none of its provisions: on the contrary it obtains numerous supplies from other adjacent provinces. It abounds with cattle, and the inhabitants are principally occupied in fishing, and curing pilchards, both of which are exported in quantities to different parts of Spain. This province also manufactures cloth to a considerable amount, greater part of which is sent into the kingdom of Leon, the two Castiles, to Madrid, and even as far as Andalusia: the annual quantity is about eleven hundred and twenty-one thousand four hundred and four Parisian ells. These three branches

branches of trade are nearly adequate to preserve a balance between the exports and imports of this district. It further supplies the adjacent provinces, from its various manufactories, with table-linen, hides, skins, dressed leather, thread, ribands, and tapes, and about twenty-five thousand pair of knit-thread stockings. Hence results an export trade, which exceeds the import, to the great advantage of Galicia.

The trade of the KINGDOM OF LEON is almost intirely passive, or confined within itself. It scarcely furnishes the adjacent provinces with any articles. Greater part of the tammies, and flannels woven at Rio Seco, are sent into Galicia; but the amount of these articles is very inconsiderable, when compared with the quantity of all kinds of merchandise it receives in return from Galicia. The state of trade is nearly the same in the Asturias as that of Leon.

ESTREMADURA possesses a more active and advantageous trade. It sends vast quantities of chesnuts to New Castile, and particularly to Madrid, and supplies that city with greater part of the coal it consumes; it sends also to the adjacent provinces a quantity of *chorisos*, a kind of black or hogs' puddings, which are in great estimation: it further exports about four hundred pieces of cloth, manufactured principally at Bejar, each piece measuring from 40 to 44 varas, (about 32 to 35 yards in length,) and a quantity of hats made at Badajoz,

Badajoz, which are considered excellent; but all these exports do not form a balance with its import trade.

ANDALUSIA receives greater part of the rice it consumes from the kingdom of Valencia, and a great quantity of barley from Murcia, and some silk also from Valencia, to supply the manufactories of Seville, Priego, and Granada. It imports nets, steel goods, calicoes, and shoes from Catalonia, cutlery from Albacete in Murcia, paper from Catalonia and Valencia, silks from the latter province, diapers from Murcia, and linens from Galicia. It sends great supplies of corn to a few provinces, some wine, a little oil, kermes, and a small quantity of dried fruits.

OLD CASTILE exports part of its wine to Rioxa in Biscay, and furnishes nearly two-thirds of the consumption in that province; sends a quantity of corn to New Castile; and about four thousand quintals of wool into the adjacent provinces. In return it receives four hundred quintals of almonds, fifteen hundred quintals of dried figs, and twelve thousand loads of rice from the kingdom of Valencia; a small quantity of oil, about seven hundred quintals of flax, and twelve thousand quintals of hemp from Aragon; a quantity of saffron from Murcia, and pickled pilchards and cattle from the province of Galicia. Nearly the whole of its manufactured articles are imported from the other provinces, nets, printed calicoes, shoes, and steel goods

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it obtains from Catalonia and Guipuscoa, cutlery from Mora in New Castile, and Albacete in the kingdom of Murcia; paper from Catalonia and Valencia, needles, thread, brass nails, and silks from the latter province; about one hundred and sixty pieces of coarse cloth, eight hundred pieces of tammies, each piece measuring 100 varas, 70 ells, (91½ yards); seven hundred dozen pair woollen stockings from Aragon; and linen cloth from Galicia.

New Castile accommodates its neighbours with none of its productions, on the contrary it is under obligation to them for the supply of many necessary wants. This province has worsted, woollen, and silk manufactures; but with the exception of a few cloths manufactured at Guadalaxara, and Brihuega, the produce of its industry is not sent into other provinces; the worsted stuffs, cloths, and greater part of the silks, manufactured, are consumed in the country, or are exported to America, particularly the last-mentioned article: it sends also a few cutlery goods to Old Castile. The trade therefore of New Castile, as it respects the other provinces of the Spanish monarchy, is almost entirely passive; that is, it receives much, and furnishes little in return. It imports from the kingdom of Valencia oranges, lemons, six hundred quintals of almonds, two thousand five hundred quintals of dried figs, twenty-two thousand quintals of oil, eighteen thousand loads of rice, and thirty

quintals of kermes from the kingdom of Valencia; fruits of all kinds from the kingdoms of Valencia and Aragon; six hundred and fifty thousand pounds of silk, four hundred thousand from the kingdom of Murcia, and two hundred and fifty from that of Valencia; ten thousand five hundred quintals of hemp from Aragon; a great quantity of wine from la Mancha; and a hundred and fifty thousand quintals from Albacete in Murcia, which is sold under the name of la Mancha wine; saffron from the kingdom of Murcia; and pickled pilchards with cattle from Galicia. It at the same time obtains worsted, stuffs, calicoes, silks, silk stockings, superfine cloths, nets, printed cottons, and a vast quantity of shoes from Catalonia; delf ware, needles, thread, brass nails, dressed skins, and hides, from the kingdom of Valencia: all kinds of goods made of spartum or broom grass from the kingdoms of Valencia, and Murcia, and some from la Mancha; ribands from Murcia; paper from Catalonia; steel goods from the latter province and Guipuscoa, and linens from Galicia.

The kingdom of Murcia has sufficient productions, both as to variety and quantity, to supply numerous demands of the other provinces; but its exportation to places of the interior is confined to about one hundred and fifty thousand quintals of wine, from Albacete, which is sent to Madrid in New Castile, under the denomination of la Mancha wine; four hundred forty thousand pounds of silk, which goes to Toledo and Talavera

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de la Reyna in New Castile, and to some other parts of Spain; fifty thousand quintals of barley with which it furnishes Andalusia and Catalonia; and as much saffron as sells for 400,000 reals, 100,000 livres tournois, (4,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) which is sent to the Castiles, la Mancha, and the kingdom of Valencia. Murcia also supplies the different provinces of Spain with the articles manufactured from spartum in Castile, and Catalonia; and cutlery goods from Albacete to the amount of about 480,000 reals, 120,000 livres tournois, (5000*l.*;) and silk ribands to the amount of about 200,000 reals, 50,000 livres, (2,083*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) to New Castile, particularly to Madrid. In return it receives printed cottons from Catalonia; paper from the latter province, and the kingdom of Valencia; silks, leather, and delf ware from the kingdom of Valencia.

La Mancha sends a few articles manufactured from spartum, and quantities of wine to New Castile, especially Madrid; it furnishes that city also with lace, and some dressed hides and skins; but nearly the whole of its demands for manufactured articles are supplied from other provinces.

Aragon sells most of its fruits to New Castile, particularly to the capital; one hundred fifty-eight thousand cahizes* of corn, each containing

* 84,000 bushels. The cahiz consists of twelve fanegas, and the fanega contains in proportion to the English bushel as 80 to 100. Dubost's Elem. of Commerce, vol. ii. p. 305.—T.

ten arobas of Castile, or two hundred sixty-two pounds, consisting of sixteen ounces; sixty-three thousand to Catalonia; and eighty-five thousand five hundred to Valencia; about eight thousand eight hundred quintals of wool and a quantity of silk, valued at 320,000 reals, 80,000 livres tournois, (3,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) is exported to Catalonia; some oil, seven hundred quintals of flax, and twenty-two thousand five hundred quintals of hemp to Castile. Its manufactories afford one hundred sixty pieces of coarse cloth to Old Castile, and the kingdom of Valencia; seven hundred and twenty dozen pair of woollen stockings to Castile; eight hundred pieces of tammies, each piece measuring one hundred varas, seventy ells, ninety-one and half yards to Guipuscoa and Navarre. This province on the other hand imports calicoes, nets, printed cottons, steel goods, paper, and sole leather to the annual amount of 4,000,000 of reals, 1,000,000 livres tournois, (4,211*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) from Catalonia; delf ware from the kingdom of Valencia; fine cloths and silks from the latter province and Catalonia.

CATALONIA and the KINGDOM OF VALENCIA are the provinces where the balance of internal trade is the most favourable: for they supply the other provinces with numerous articles and receive few in return.

CATALONIA consumes the whole produce of the soil, and so far from affording any to other provinces it obtains supplies from them. It annually

nually imports about eighty-five or ninety thousand cahizes (1,350,000 bushels) of corn from Aragon; one hundred and eighty thousand pounds of silk from that province and the kingdom of Valencia; eight thousand, seven or eight hundred quintals of wool from Aragon; about twenty-five thousand quintals of barley from the kingdom of Murcia, and great quantities of carob-beans from the kingdom of Valencia. In return it receives no manufactured articles from any provinces; on the contrary, it furnishes them with a considerable portion of merchandise, the produce of its own manufactories. It exports quantities of calicoes, one hundred thousand dozen silk handkerchiefs, two hundred thousand pieces of cotton ribands and tapes, with numbers of cotton stockings, to the kingdom of Valencia, Aragon, Castile, and Madrid; silk-stockings to New Castile; quantities of coarse cloth and serges, circulated through the different provinces, which furnish clothing for the army; superfine and fine cloths to Aragon, New Castile, particularly to Madrid; nets to every part of Spain; two thousand pairs of woollen stockings to Aragon; common lace, steel goods, fire, and other kind of arms, to different parts of the kingdom; quantities of printed cottons to the kingdom of Valencia, Aragon, and the two Castiles; about two hundred and fifty thousand reams of paper to Aragon, Estremadura, and the two Castiles; dressed hides to

the amount of about 4,000,000 of reals, 1,000,000 livres tournois, (41,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) to Aragon; and about five hundred thousand pair of shoes to Aragon, and the two Castiles.

THE KINGDOM OF VALENCIA imports very little produce of other provinces, except saffron, which it obtains from Murcia; on the contrary, it sends quantities of carob-beans to Catalonia, oranges, lemons, and other kinds of fruit to New Castile, particularly to Madrid; palms to every part of the kingdom; about one thousand quintals of almonds, four thousand quintals of figs, and twenty-two thousand quintals of oil to the two Castiles; twenty-four thousand loads of rice to la Mancha, Aragon, Andalusia, and the Castiles; fifty thousand quintals of hemp to the royal naval arsenals; four hundred thousand pounds of silk to the manufactories of Andalusia, New Castile, and Catalonia; and forty quintals of kermes to different provinces. Among the various manufactured articles it imports scarcely any but calicoes and printed cottons from Catalonia; while, on the other hand, it sends a great quantity of silk goods to Aragon, the kingdom of Murcia, la Mancha, the two Castiles, especially to Madrid; much delf ware to Catalonia, Aragon, the kingdom of Murcia, Madrid, and Castile; quantities of paper to the kingdom of Murcia and New Castile; a variety of *azulejos*, or *malons*, that is fancy and figured goods to every part

part of the country; needles, thread, and brass nails to different provinces, and numerous articles manufactured from spartum to Catalonia, and New Castile.

A detailed account has been already given of the trade in the islands of Majorca, Minorca, and Iviça.

External or Foreign Trade.

Spain carries on a foreign trade with every country in Europe; but its principal transactions are with England, Holland, Italy, France, and its American colonies. Some years ago a trade was established to the Baltic, which is at present in a flourishing state. The Spanish commerce is of two kinds, active and passive.

The corn-trade is the most considerable, but the least advantageous of any to Spain. For though the country is naturally fertile, it frequently experiences a scarcity of grain, and is under the necessity of importing the article from France, Italy, Africa, Greece, and sometimes from the North of Europe. Corn was generally brought in French bottoms, which was purchased in Africa; but since the late war (1799) it has been brought directly from Greece or Africa, by African, Grecian, and Ragusan vessels; and from the North of Europe in ships belonging to different nations.

The English at one period imported most of

their wine from Spain. But the exportation of Spanish produce into countries inimical to Spain having been prohibited by Philip the Fifth during the war of succession, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, the English had recourse to Portugal for a supply, and soon gave the preference to the wines of that country; obtaining none from Spain, except Xeres *, which with Madeira is still drunk in that country. Since the period in question, the wine trade has been principally confined to exportation of the article from Catalonia to Italy, and from the kingdom of Valencia to America, England, and the ports of Cette, Bourdeaux, Rouen, and Havre de Grace in France. The former export amounts to four thousand charges, each containing one hundred and twenty pints; the latter to twelve hundred thousand cantaras†, each containing ten pints and a half. Sweet wines are also exported to England and Holland; but chiefly to France, especially those made at Rota, Malaga, and Alicant. The sum total of the amount of wine sent from Alicant, on an annual average, is scarcely 800,000 reals, 200,000 livres tournois (8,333*l.*); the quantity from Xeres is larger; of that kind is exported annually eighty thousand quintals; but the wine of Malaga forms a much more considerable branch of exportation; the quantity amounts to four hun-

* This is what in England is called Sherry wine.

† About 488,3.7 gallons.

dred

dred thousand quintals. Spain in return imports also some wines from France, particularly those of Champagne and Bourdeaux; but to no large amount.

The brandy trade is very extensive by the ports of Catalonia and those belonging to the kingdom of Valencia. The latter province, upon an average, annually exports five hundred thousand cantaras, each consisting of twenty six pounds four ounces, which is sent to France and England. Thirty-four thousand pipes are sent to Catalonia, four thousand to Guernsey and Jersey, ten thousand to England, and twenty thousand to Holland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark; each pipe equal in weight nearly to eleven quintals, (ten and a half cwt.)

Oil forms an article among Spanish exports, but it is principally exported from Aragon, Catalonia, Andalusia, and particularly from the kingdom of Granada. The oil of Aragon is sent in large quantities to France by the mountains of Gascony; and to the ports of Barcelona and San Sebastian, whence one portion is transported by sea to other parts of France, and another to England. The oil of Catalonia goes partly to Holland, and partly to France. This province annually exports eight thousand charges of oil, each charge consisting of 286 pounds 16 ounces. The oil of Andalusia is sent to England, Holland, and the north of Europe by the port of Malaga. This article amounts to about a million of piastres, five millions livres tournois, (208,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*)

Soda,

Soda, barilla, salicor, and agua-azul, form a very considerable branch of Spanish commerce. The largest quantities of those articles are furnished by the kingdoms of Murcia, and Valencia; the latter alone, upon an annual average, exports a hundred thousand quintals of barilla, twenty-five thousand quintals of soda, and four thousand quintals of agua-azul. Murcia exports about one hundred and fifty thousand quintals. A fifth part of this quantity is sent to England, and four-fifths to France. This trade is conducted by the ports of Alicant and Carthagena.

The foreign trade in silk is entirely decayed. So many obstacles have been opposed to its exportation as have amounted to a virtual prohibition. This article has been already spoken of in the detail of the trade in the kingdom of Valencia. Some attempts have, however, been made for its revival.

The quantity of fine wool which Spain annually produces amounts to two hundred and fifty thousand quintals; a moiety of which, after it has been washed, is exported to foreign countries, and a less considerable quantity is sent abroad in the grease.

By the particular calculations of the count de Campomanez, this estimate will appear moderate. That able economist informs us that the migratory flocks* afford annually five hundred thousand arobas, or one hundred twenty-five thousand quin-

* The difference between migratory and stationary sheep has previously been explained in treating on agriculture, p. 47 of this volume.

tals,

tals, (129,114 cwt.) of fine wool; and that sixty thousand are manufac ured in the country; and the other eighty-four thousand exported. The number of migratory sheep is estimated at five millions, and eight millions of stationary sheep. Supposing the five millions of migratory sheep produce one hundred and twenty-five thousand quintals of fine wool, it may certainly be allowed, that the eight millions of stationary sheep, at least, yield an equal quantity; beside the coarse wool, exportation of which is prohibited.

The amount then of wool annually exported from Spain will be one hundred and twenty-five thousand quintals of washed wool, and a hundred and five thousand of wool in grease. Both are sent to Holland, France, and England; and very considerable duties are paid upon exportation; the sum of which amounts to eighty-four reals, twenty-one livres tournois, (17*s.* 6*d.*) per quintal, on wool in the grease, and double that sum on washed wool. The city of Burgos is the staple for all the wools exported by the ports of Sant Andero, Loredo, San Sebastian, and Bilbao: the remainder is shipped in the ports and harbours of Barcelona, Grao, Cullera, Alicant, Carthagena, and Malaga, on the Mediterranean sea: a portion also passes by way of Cadiz and Seville.

The English, Dutch, and particularly the French, return the same wools again to Spain, but in a manufactured state, transformed into cloths, serges, swandowns,

swandowns, flannels, &c. &c; the result is a material injury to Spain, losing the advantage arising from manual labour, for which it is under the necessity of remunerating foreigners; and remuneration absorbs nearly the whole of the money previously received for the raw article. The count de Campomanez judiciously observes, that were this wool kept in the kingdom it might serve to extend the manufactures of the country, and contribute to national wealth; and he further remarks, that if the raw material were only spun prior to its exportation, it would furnish employment for a number of persons, who at present are the victims of idleness, particularly women and children; and that the consequent benefit would be an annual profit of 45,000,000 of reals, 11,290,000 livres tournois, (468,750*l.*) which would remain to circulate through the kingdom. Another observation may here be added, that the foreign merchants scarcely allow the Spaniards any profit upon the commission of purchasing the wool from the growers, and upon the business of washing; and they often buy the wools of the proprietors themselves, and procure the washing to be done for a given sum.

Notwithstanding these circumstances operating against the interest of Spain, the government constantly favours the exportation of wool; and this political error is perpetuated from the consideration, that the duties on exportation are an important object. The annual produce of this source

of

of revenue is estimated at about 24,000,000 reals, 6,000,000 livres tournois, (250,000*l.*)

Tobacco forms another considerable branch of Spanish commerce, wholly in the hands of the king, which has been already noticed, when treating of its manufacture.

The different provinces of Spain have various branches of trade, which are respectively peculiar to each; the following is a concise statement.

The *kingdom of Seville* exports a quantity of fruit, about a hundred thousand quintals of Xeres wine, a small quantity of oil, and salt from the pits at Puerto Real, which annually produces eighty millions of reals, twenty millions of livres tournois, (833,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*); this article is sent to Portugal, England, Holland, and even to Sweden and Denmark.

The *kingdom of Granada* exports a quantity of lead from the port of Almeria to France; fruit from Almeria and Malaga, dried raisins, divers kinds of fruit, sumac, anchovies, and a great quantity of wine to England, Holland, Italy, and the North of Europe, by the port of Malaga. Through the same medium it receives in return spices, cutlery goods, thread, tapes, bindings, and lace, from Holland; mercery goods from Hamburgh; worsted, woollen, and steel goods from England. The balance of trade is in its favour; the exportation exceeding the importation to the amount of thirty-

two

two millions of reals, eight millions livres tournois, (333,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*)

The *kingdom of Valencia* ships a quantity of rice for the isle of Majorca, palms for Italy, about a hundred and forty quintals of kermes for France, six thousand tons of salt for England, Holland, and the North of Europe; and a large quantity of dried fruit; of which about three thousand quintals of almonds are sent to Marseilles, and Holland; thirty-eight thousand quintals of dried raisins to England and France; six thousand quintals of dried figs to England, and Holland; and dates to the amount of 400,000 reals, 100,000 livres tournois, (4,166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) to France, Holland, and the North of Europe. In return this province receives spices from France and Holland; corn, cloth, silks, steel goods, linens, and jewellery from France. Greater part of its trade is carried on by Grao and the port of Alicant.

Catalonia exports annually twenty-six thousand sacks of nuts, of which twenty thousand go to England; thirty-one thousand two hundred quintals of cork, thirty thousand in boards, and twelve hundred manufactured into corks, to France, with which article are annually loaded about twenty-five ships. This province has also a commercial concern in piastres, which it sends to France; and notwithstanding this trade is prohibited, it forms a considerable object of speculation. It imports corn,

corn, cloth, silks, linens, steel goods, and jewellery from France, and quantities of salted cod fish from England; the amount of the cod fish imported from the latter country is estimated at three millions of piastres, fifteen millions livres tournois, (625,000*l.*)

Old Castile sends out wool, and about four thousand quintals of prepared madder; and for the encouragement of this branch of manufacture, government in the year 1782 imposed a duty of forty-five reals, eleven livres, five sols tournois (10*s.* 10½*d.*) upon every quintal of foreign madder imported.

The *province of Asturias* has no export trade; for the quantity of nuts it annually sends out can scarcely be taken into this account. It imports cod fish and whale oil from England.

Biscay principally confines its commercial relations to England; it exports bar-iron and anchors; and sends a quantity of nuts to Germany by the Hamburgh traders. In return it receives from England butter, whale oil, and cod fish.

Although Spain exports immense quantities of its agricultural productions, it sends abroad none of its manufactured articles; on the contrary, it imports them from all countries: in this respect Spanish commerce may be viewed as completely passsive. The kingdom of Valencia is the only part of the kingdom which exports any manufacture, and that is a fancy article sent to Marseilles,

Marseilles, and parts of Africa, denominated *malons* in France; and *azulejos* in Spain.

The following articles are imported into Spain:

From Holland.

Tapes, linen-drapery, common lace, cutlery goods, and paper.

From Silesia.

Linen-drapery.

From Germany, more particularly from Hamburgh.

Quantities of haberdashery.

From England.

Calicoes, iron and steel goods, fine cloth, quantities of cod-fish and ling; the value of the last articles is estimated at three millions of duros, five millions livres tournois, (208,333*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*)

From France.

Calicoes, linen-drapery, silk stockings, silks, camlets, and other kinds of worsted stuffs, fine cloths, gilded articles, jewellery, iron goods, haberdashery, steel goods, and perfumery.

American Commerce.

Spain carries on a considerable trade with her American colonies.

The

The only province of Spain interdicted a free trade with the colonies, is Biscay. That province still warmly contends for the remnant of its former privileges, which established its liberty, and forms as it were a separate state, governed by peculiar laws and regulations. It is subject neither to duties, domiciliary visits, nor taxes of any kind upon the merchandise it either exports or imports; the custom-house officers and guards being stationed upon the frontier of the adjacent provinces. Had it consented to have relinquished these privileges, it might have participated in American commerce; but the Biscayans preferred the privation of the advantages they might have derived from that trade, to subjecting themselves for the sake of them to taxation, and the dark designs and vexatious oppressions of persons employed as collectors of the customs. In consequence of which all commercial connections between them and the Americans is strictly prohibited. They can only share the quantity which can be carried on by means of the ports in the vicinity.

Notwithstanding, this province long possessed the exclusive trade to the Caracas, by means of the company of the same denomination; and since the dissolution of the company Biscay has continued the trade by the port of San Sebastian, constantly sending out ships, which import from the Caracas cocoa, hides, and tobacco.

The colonies have ever been prohibited from

trading with other nations, except upon some few occasions, when their ports from particular motives have been opened to France, England, and Holland. Notwithstanding this interdiction, and the strictness and vigilance adopted in the execution of the prohibitory decrees; yet the French and English have constantly contrived to obtain a market for their merchandise in Spanish America.

For a long time the West India and American trade was confined exclusively to the city and port of Seville; in the year 1720 it was transferred to Cadiz; and excluded by law from all other ports in Spain. It was carried on by means of a small fleet, which annually sailed about the same season of the year. Subsequently two fleets were annually sent out: but in the interval not a single ship was permitted to sail. In the year 1739 the establishment of *register ships* took place, which were freighted by merchants belonging to the same port, which permission was granted in consideration of a douceur to government. These made voyages in the intervals occurring between the sailing of the periodical fleets; but the formalities were numerous and perplexing, and the duties on the cargoes oppressively heavy.

This plan was very prejudicial to the mutual interests of the colonies, and the mother country. In the year 1764, Charles the Third made a slight modification; establishing packet-boats, which sailed monthly from Corunna to the Havanna and Porto Rico;

Porto Rico; and every two months to Rio de la Plata. These were allowed to take out half a cargo of Spanish merchandise, and to be freighted back with half a cargo of American produce. This prince did still more; in the year 1778 he gave all his subjects liberty to trade to particular parts of America; and appointed certain ports from which the ships employed should depart, and to which they should return. In a few years after he extended this privilege to a greater number of Spanish ports and many other parts of America.

This trade is no longer confined to Cadiz. The ports of Seville, Carthagena, Alicant, Barcelona, Sant Andero, Corunna, and Gijon have a direct trade to the island of Vent, the isles of Cuba and Hispaniola, to Yucatan, Porto Rico, Campechy, and Louisiana on the Spanish main. The ancient and perplexing formalities no longer subsist, the oppressive duties have been taken off, and all that at present is required for exporting merchandise from Spain to the colonies is the payment of six per cent. ad valorem upon the commodity.

This freedom had a very beneficial effect upon the colonial trade. No sooner was the privilege granted, than the mercantile spirit availed itself of the advantageous opportunity it afforded; for the same year the estimated number of ships which sailed from the different ports of Spain for America was as follows:

From Cadiz	63
From Corunna	26
From Barcelona	23
From Malaga	34
From Sant Andero	13
From Alicant	3
TOTAL	162

These different vessels were freighted with merchandise to the following amount.

	Reals de vellon.	Livres tournois.	Money sterling.
National merchandise	28,636,619	7,159,154-15	£298,298 2 3½
Foreign merchandise..	48,378,342	12,094,585-10	503,941 1 3
TOTAL....	77,014,961	19,253,740--5	802,239 3 6½
Of this the port of Cadiz furnished.....			
National merchandise	13,302,062	3,325,515-10	£138,563 2 11
Foreign merchandise..	36,901,941	9,225,485- 5	384,395 4 4½
TOTAL....	50,204,003	12,551,000-15	522,958 7 3½

The number of ships, with the value of their imports and exports, have been considerably increased since that period, as the annexed table will shew.

Spanish exports to America in the year 1788.

	Reals de vellon.	Livres tournois.	Money sterling.
National merchandise..	158,823,239	39,555,809	£1,648,158 14 9½
Foreign merchandise	142,494,290	35,623,572	1,484,314 3 4
TOTAL	300,717,529	75,179,381	3,132,472 18 1½

Of this quantity was exported of national merchandise	Reals de vellon.	Livres tournois.	Money sterling.
From the port of Cadiz	91,262,427	22,815,606	£950,650 5 0
From the port of Barcelona	29,688,392	7,422,098	309,254 1 8
TOTAL	120,950,819	30,237,704	1,259,904 6 8
And in foreign merchandise			
From the port of Cadiz	121,523,827	30,380,956	£1,265,977 7 3½
From the port of Barcelona	2,083,317	520,829	21,701 4 4½
TOTAL	123,607,144	30,901,785	1,287,678 11 8

Imports from America into Spain in the year 1788.

	Reals de vellon.	Livres tournois.	Money sterling.
The total amount of imports	804,693,733	201,173,433	8,382,330 11 0
By the port of Cadiz	635,315,831	158,828,959	6,617,873 5 0
By the port of Barcelona	35,446,496	8,861,624	369,234 6 8

Balance of American Commerce in the year 1788.

	Reals de vellon.	Livres tournois.	Money sterling.
The exports from Spain to America	300,717,529	75,179,382	3,132,474 5 0
The imports from America to Spain	804,693,733	201,173,433	8,382,226 7 6
The imports have exceeded the exports	503,976,204	125,994,051	5,228,918 16 8
Of which Cadiz imported	424,519,588	106,129,897	4,422,079 0 10
Barcelona	3,674,787	918,696	38,279 0 0

The increase of duties paid into the royal treasury upon the goods which were exported to America, and imported thence into Spain, demonstrates the same point.

	Reals de vellon.	Livres tournois.	Money sterling.
Amount of the king's duty in the year 1778	6,761,291	1,690,322	£70,443 8 4
Ditto ditto in the year 1788	55,456,494	13,864,123	577,679 9 2
The differences between both years amounted to	48,695,203	12,173,801	507,236 0 10

Notwithstanding the permission granted to various ports in Spain to participate in the trade to Spanish America, and the consequent injury sustained by the commerce of Cadiz; still it maintains a decided superiority over the other ports, as the annexed table will clearly prove.

The number of ships which cleared out of Cadiz for the Spanish colonies in the year 1791, was 106

The number of vessels which entered inwards from the colonies the same year, amounted to 177

	Reals de vellon.	Livres tournois.	Money sterling.
Value of national merchandise, exclusive of foreign, exported to the colonies by the port of Cadiz.			
In 1780	102,000,000	25,500,000	1,062,500 0 0
In 1791	116,000,000	29,000,000	1,208,333 6 8
In 1792	270,000,000	67,500,000	2,125,000 0 0
This port received in return imports in the year 1792 to the value of	700,000,000	175,000,000	7,291,666 13 4
Among the various articles of merchandise which were sent in the year 1791 by this port to the colonies, may be enumerated,			
Silks to the value of	60,000,000	15,000,000	624,333 6 8
Woollen articles	10,000,000	2,500,000	104,166 13 4
Articles of hemp and flax	18,000,000	4,500,000	187,500 0 0

The chief trade between Spain and America consists

consists in exporting a considerable quantity of Spanish manufactures, and importing a large quantity of gold and silver, the produce of the colonies.

Spain sends to America a vast quantity of the fancy articles, called azulejos, from the kingdom of Valencia, and from the same province coarse woollen, for clothing the troops; numerous iron utensils; quantities of marbled paper, dyed and printed cottons, and calicos, from Catalonia; cotton stockings, six hundred thousand pieces of cotton ribands, and eighty thousand dozen of silk handkerchiefs from the same province; from Galicia fifty thousand pairs of knit-thread stockings, eight hundred and fifty thousand varas of linen-drapery, table-linen, tapes, hides, skins, and various kinds of dressed leather; numbers of silk stockings are sent from Talavera de la Reyna and Barcelona; quantities of silks, and silk stuffs mixed with gold and silver, from Talavera de la Reyna, Toledo, Requeña, Valencia, and Barcelona; large quantities of writing-paper from the kingdom of Valencia; about two hundred thousand reams of the same kind of paper from Catalonia, from whence are also sent two hundred thousand pair of shoes; playing cards from Granada, and house-brooms and brushes from Barcelona to the amount of 60,000 ducats, 165,000 livres tournois, 6,875l. annually, which are sent by the port of Buenos Ayres.

In return the colonies supply Spain with coffee, sugar, some cotton, tobacco, cocoa, leather, and

particularly gold and silver, both in ingots and coined into money. Part of the precious metals belong to the king, and the remainder is imported on account of the merchants, being sent as the balance for articles obtained from Spain.

Upon a moderate calculation the annual value of the gold and silver imported amounts from one hundred and twenty, to one hundred and fifty millions of livres tournois, (5,000,000*l.* to 6,250,000*l.*) In the year 1791, there arrived in the port of Cadiz alone gold and silver, in money, bars, or ingots, to the value of 25,788,175 piastres, 128,940,875 livres tournois, (5,370,619*l.*15*s.*10*d.*) This only includes the quantity known to be imported, from its having paid the duty; it is supposed what is clandestinely imported amounts to nearly an equal sum.

A general table of the foreign commerce belonging to Spain.*

Active European commerce.

ARTICLES OF COMMERCE.	THEIR QUANTITIES.	THEIR VALUE.		
		Reals de vellon.	Livres tournois.	Money sterling.
Wine from Catalonia..	4,000 loads	256,000	64,000	£2,666 15 0
Ditto from Valencia ..	1,200,000 cantaras	9,120,000	2,280,000	95,000 0 0
Ditto from Alicant	.....	800,000	200,000	8,333 6 8
Ditto from Xeres.....	50,000 quintals	12,000,000	3,000,000	125,000 0 0
Ditto from Malaga....	400,000 quintals	36,000,000	9,000,000	375,000 0 0
Brandy from Valencia..	500,000 cantaras	12,000,000	3,000,000	125,000 0 0
Ditto from Catalonia ..	35,000 pipes	25,200,000	6,300,000	225,000 0 0

* This is only a general statement; for it is impossible to know the detailed state of the trade with desired accuracy.

ARTICLES OF COMMERCE.	THEIR QUANTITIES.	THEIR VALUE. Reals de vellon.	Livres tournois.	Money sterling.
Dried raisins from Malaga	250,000 quintals	10,000,000	2,500,000	£625,000 0 0
Ditto ditto from Valencia	38,000 quintals	1,140,000	285,000	11,875 0 0
Dried figs from Malaga	100,000 quintals	3,300,000	825,000	34,375 0 0
Ditto ditto from Valencia	16,000 quintals	512,000	128,000	5,400 0 0
Walnuts from Catalonia	26,000 sacks	2,496,000	624,000	26,000 0 0
Chesnuts from Biscay		320,000	80,000	3,333 6 8
Nuts from the Asturias		80,000	20,000	8,336 6 8
Dates from Valencia		400,000	100,000	4,233 6 8
Almonds from ditto	3,000 quintals	630,000	157,500	6,565 16 8
Oil from Malaga		20,000,000	5,000,000	208,333 6 8
Ditto from Catalonia	8,000 loads	2,560,000	640,000	23,333 13 4
Barilla, Soda, Agua-azul from Valencia	129,000 quintals	6,096,000	1,524,000	63,500 0 0
Barilla, Soda, Agua-azul from Murcia	200,000 quintals	10,000,000	2,500,000	108,333 6 8
Kermes from Valencia	140 quintals	700,000	175,000	7,825 0 0
Cork from Catalonia	30,000 quintals	21,600,000	5,400,000	225,000 0 0
Corks from Catalonia	1,200 quintals	862,996	215,749	8,989 10 10
Madder from Old Castile	4,000 quintals	6,400,000	1,600,000	66,666 17 2
Brooms from Barcelona		660,000	165,000	6,875 0 0
Wool in fleece, washed	125,000 quintals	64,000,000	16,000,000	666,666 17 2
Wool in the grease	15,000 quintals	20,700,000	5,175 000	23,766 17 2
Salt from Valencia	6,000 tons	888,000	222,000	9,250 0 0
Ditto from Puertorcal		80,000,000	20,000,000	833,333 6 8
	TOTAL	348,720,996	87,184,249	3,633,510 7 6

This table of commercial enumeration is deficient in many articles, respecting which it is impossible either to learn the kinds of merchandise or the detail of the trade; but which, if collected, would be of considerable importance, as for instance the oil produced in Aragon, in the kingdom of Seville, the iron and anchors of Biscay, the lead, fruit, sumac, and anchovies of the kingdom of Granada, the palms and azulejos of Valencia, the tobacco, the trade in piastres, &c. &c. &c.

Export

Export trade with America.

	Reals de vellon.	Livres tournois.	Money sterling.
The value of national merchandise exported to America from Spain amounted,			
In 1788, to	158,223,239	39,555,809	£1,635,658 14 2
In 1789, to	144,400,040	36,100,010	1,504,166 13 4
In 1790, to	102,000,000	25,500,000	1,062,500 0 0
In 1791, to	116,000,000	29,000,000	1,208,333 6 8
In 1792, to	270,000,000	67,500,000	2,812,500 0 0
The average about	176,000,000	44,000,000	1,833,333 6 8
Foreign merchandise exported in 1788	142,494,290	35,623,572	1,484,315 10 0
TOTAL.....	318,494,290	79,623,572	3,317,648 16 8

Sum total of Spanish commerce.

	Reals de vellon.	Livres tournois.	Money sterling.
European trade	348,720,996	87,204,249	£3,633,510 7 6
American trade.....	318,494,290	79,623,572	3,317,645 10 0
TOTAL	667,215,286	166,827,821	6,951,155 17 6

Spanish commerce was still more increased subsequent to the year 1792; this increase, produced by additional industry, excited by the freedom granted to the spirit of trade, was equally visible in America: the observations of the learned Humboldt are demonstrative upon this subject.

During the twelve years preceding the time when the edict was issued which gave freedom to commerce, that is, from the year 1766 to the year 1778, 203,882,000 piastres were coined in Mexico; in the twelve succeeding years 252,024,000, that is 260 millions of livres tournois, (10,833,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) more were coined than in the preceding years. Under the article of Finances it will be seen that the

the amount of goods sent to Europe increased in the same proportion; and since that period the value has been much greater. The trade with Vera Cruz consisted in the year 1802 of

	Piastres.
Imports	21,998,588
Exports	38,447,367

of which sum three millions and a half of piastres were paid for cochineal, three millions for indigo, and one million and a half for sugar. It is proper to observe here, that sugar had not been cultivated in Mexico, at least in any considerable quantities, till very lately: the sudden and prodigious increase arose from the troubled state of the island of San Domingo, which excited the attention of the Mexicans to this new culture. And doubtless from the same cause the cultivation of sugar was so greatly extended in the island of Cuba*; which produced in the year 1790, 100,000

* The population of this island in the year 1804, consisted of 234,000 whites, 900,000 men of colour, and 108,000 slaves. M. de Humboldt made a remarkable comparison between the kind of population in this island, and that of Jamaica, from which the following extract is taken.

Island of Cuba. One hundred inhabitants.		Jamaica. One hundred inhabitants.	
Whites .	54	. .	10
Freemen of colour	21	. .	4
Slaves .	25	. .	86
	100		100

cases,

cases, each containing 16 arobas, 405 lbs. avoirdupois each, and 250,000 in 1804.

Commercial ports in Spain.

Spanish commerce is conducted by various ports, situated upon the Atlantic ocean and the Mediterranean sea. The maritime provinces on the former are, Biscay, Guipuzcoa, the Asturias, Galicia, and the kingdom of Seville; on the latter, Catalonia, and the kingdoms of Granada, Murcia, and Valencia.

The ports of Biscay are *Sant Andero*, *Bilbao*, and *Lequeitio* in Biscay proper; *San Sebastian*, *Motrico*, *Passage*, *Deva*, and *Fontarabia* in Guipuzcoa, and *Laredo* in the district of the four cities. The ports of *Deva* and *Bilbao* are not upon the sea, but some distance from it; the former upon the river Deva, and the latter upon the river Ansa.

The ports of *Lequeitio**, *Fontarabia*†, *Laredo*‡, *Motrico*§, and *Deva*‖, have very little trade. *Sant*

* This port is small, admitting only sloops, and other vessels, drawing little water.

† This is a very inconsiderable port, only adapted for small craft.

‡ This is a large and beautiful port, but little frequented.

§ The approach to this port is dangerous from a large rocky shoal at the entrance, called the *trico*, which is dry at ebb, and covered with water at flood tide.

‖ This port has a very unsafe entrance on account of a sandy bar, which the river Deva forms at its confluence with the sea.

Andero

Andero imports the principal part of the salt-fish and fish oil from England, and different articles of English and French production; and sends those countries in return wools for their manufactures: the trade of this port is pretty considerable. The ports of *Passage*, *Bilbao**, and *San Sebastian*, are frequented by the English, French, and Dutch, who bring their manufactured goods, and freight their vessels back with bar-iron, anchors, and wool: the latter port also has a trade with the Caracas. Previous to the last war *Bilbao*, upon the annual average, exported twenty or twenty-two thousand bags of wool, most of which weighed from two hundred to two hundred and fifty pounds; and the port of *Sant Andero* about one-third as much. Both these ports together exported in the year 1792 thirty-two thousand bags of wool, exclusive of six hundred bags of lamb's wool in the grease.

The *Asturias* possess a number of small ports; the most frequented are *Gijon*, *Lourca*, and *Cadillero;* but they will not admit of large ships: the trade of these ports was principally confined to the Dutch. But from about the middle of the eighteenth century the French and English have participated, sending linen cloth, woollens, and steel goods, though in no very considerable quantities.

In *Galicia* are numerous small ports, *Maria*,

* Bilbao is situated near the mouth of the river Ansa, and the harbour is formed by a large and excellent pier.

Corcuvion,

Corcuvion, *Bayona*, *Pontevedra*, *Muros*, *la Guardia*, *Padron*, *Redondela*, *Cambados de Loya*, *Laxa*, *Betanzos*, *Vivero*, *Puentehume*, and *Rivadeo;* but all these are very inconsiderable, and the trade of little importance. The principal ports of this province are *Ferrol*, *Corunna*, and *Vigo*. The harbour of *Ferrol** is appointed a naval station, and its commerce is only a secondary object, and consequently uncertain and limited. The trade of *Vigo*† consists chiefly in the importation of articles from England, France, and Holland. That of *Corunna* ‡ is very important, and its foreign commerce very extensive; it imports grain from France, cloths, swandowns, and flannels, from France and England; salt-fish from the latter country; linens from Ireland and Holland; salt butter from Eng-

* The harbour of Ferrol is the most beautiful in Europe; it is spacious, deep, wide, and well constructed; the entrance is direct, but the channel is so narrow that only one vessel can pass at a time. This is the principal royal naval station, with the establishment of a maritime college, a large arsenal, beautiful dock-yards for building line of battle ships. But the climate is damp, the situation unhealthy; and what is a very serious drawback from this port is, that vessels are unable to get out without having a particular wind. A project has been often started of removing the naval department to *Vigo;* but the immense expence attending the construction of new fortifications, arsenals, and magazines, has hitherto prevented its execution.

† This is a spacious and excellent harbour.

‡ This, which was the *portus Brigantinus* of the Romans, is a most magnificent and capital harbour.

land

land and Holland; and carries on a small trade comprising exports and imports with the Spanish colonies, by means of the packet-boats, and express vessels which sail for America: by these it imports cocoa, sugar, and logwood; and exports soap, dressed hides, skins, and all kinds of leather, with home manufactured linens, table linen, and knit thread stockings: the quantity of stockings it exports annually amounts on the average to fifty thousand pairs; and of linen cloth to about fifty thousand varas.

The *kingdom* of *Seville* has two ports, *Algeziras* and *Cadiz*. Algeziras* has a very limited commerce, a few cargoes of brandy and corn in Catalonian sloops are imported, but exports little, except coals dug from the mountains in the vicinity, which find a market at Cadiz. The latter port† carries on a very great import trade with different ports in France, enumerated here according to the extent and importance of the commerce belonging to each; Marseilles, Havre de Grace, Rouen, Morlaix, St. Malo, Bayonne, Nantes and St. Vallery. It annually imports from Marseilles merchandise to the value of twelve millions livres

* It is situated at the mouth of the straits of Gibraltar.

† The harbour of Cadiz is large, capacious, and finely situated, having a communication to the right and left with two seas; the bay is eight leagues in circumference. Three royal naval departments have been long established at this port.

tournois,

tournois, (50,000l.) and upwards, a greater portion of which consists of silks, and gold lace. Woollen goods it principally obtains from Havre de Grace and Rouen; linens from Morlaix, St. Malo, and Nantes; some woollen goods from Amiens and St. Valery; it likewise imports corn and bacon from Bayonne, and Bourdeaux, and tar from the latter port. It has also an import trade with the English and Dutch, from whom it receives iron and steel articles, salt fish and woollen cloth. This port also carries on an extensive commerce with the Spanish colonies; it exports and imports a great variety of articles which have been enumerated in treating particularly of the manufactures of Spain. About a thousand ships annually enter this port: the number in the year 1776, was nine hundred and forty-nine; of which two hundred and sixty-five were French: in 1791 the amount of ships that entered was,

English	180
Portugese	104
Ragusans	24
Venetians	2
Danes	41
Hamburgers	1
United states of America	90
Imperialists	1
Swedes	25
Russians	1
Genoese	6

Dutch

Dutch	80
French	116
Spanish from Manilla	1
Ditto from America	176
Ditto from different European ports	162

Most of the Spanish ships belong to the port: at Cadiz there are reckoned a hundred ship-owners, and seven hundred great commercial houses, without taking individual merchants into the account. The principal part of the merchants are Spaniards; the remainder consist of Dutch, English, Flemish, German, Genoese, and more especially of Irish and French: before the last war between France and Spain, the number of French great mercantile concerns was fifty; besides thirty-six retail houses, and thirty shops for selling silk modes.

The city of Seville has a trade nearly of the same kind with that of Cadiz, but far less extensive. Yet that place annually exports merchandise to the value of 60,000,000 of reals, 15,000,000 livres tournois, 625,000*l.* The commerce of Seville is carried on by the Guadalquiver, on which it is situated: this river enters the ocean about six leagues below, between San Lucar de Barameda and Val de Vaccas.

The *kingdom of Granada* possesses three ports upon the Mediterranean, *Almunecar*, *Almeria*, and *Malaga*. The port of *Almunecar* has very little commerce; *Almeria* at one period was the most

celebrated and most frequented in Spain; but at present its consequence is very much reduced; its trade being principally confined to France, whence it imports a few manufactured articles, and exports lead, soda, barilla, and spartum. *Malaga** partakes very little in the French trade, only ten ships having entered the port from France in the year 1785. Its commercial connections with Holland are more considerable, and still greater with England; in the year 1789 it received upwards of a hundred English ships: Spanish ships rarely entered this port, two only were seen there in 1785; but more frequent the port at present; thirteen entered in the year 1793. Malaga imports mercery goods from Hamburgh; groceries, tapes, lace, and cutlery, from Holland; woollens, and iron goods from England: it sends in return to England, Holland, the North of Europe, and Italy, wine, dried fruits, sumach, anchovies, and oil. The annual estimated value of these exports is 3,300,000 piastres, 16,500,000 livres tournois,

* This is a large and convenient port, capable of containing four hundred merchant vessels, and nineteen ships of the line. Vessels may sail in or out with all winds. The entrance into the harbour is formed by two moles, distant from each other about three thousand toises, that is nearly three miles and one third; but the sea leaves it dry every day, and the river Guadelmedinos, which runs into it, brings down great quantities of sand; so that it is apprehended, if the accumulations cannot be prevented, the harbour will be soon choked up, and left at a distance from the sea.

687,500*l.*

687,500*l.*; and of the imports 1,800,000 piastres, 9,000,000 of livres, 375,000*l.*: but this calculation, as it respects the value of exports, is far too low, which has been previously noticed. Granada also exports wine and fruits by the roads of Marbello and Velez-Malaga.

The *kingdom of Murcia* has two ports, *Aquilas* and *Carthagena*. *Aquilas* is a small port, that will only admit vessels having a shallow draught of water, its trade is consequently very inconsiderable. Carthagena imports divers kinds of merchandise from Holland, England, Naples, and France; and exports wools, spartum, and great quantities of soda and barilla.

The *kingdom of Valencia* has no port; it carries on its foreign trade therefore by the roads of Alicant and Cullera, and by the sandy shores of Denia, Vinaroz, Gandia, and Grao in Valencia. The beaches of this province are very flat and dangerous of approach, particularly when the wind blows from the east. The road of *Santa Pola* is very safe, but it is only used as an asylum for shelter in blowing weather, and is destitute of commerce. *Gandia*, *Denia*, and *Vinaroz*, have only a flat beach where the vessels take the ground, by which, at times, they export wools, brandies, and dried fruits; importing in return woollens, linen cloth, and iron goods from France. The custom-houses at those places have been some years since suppressed, and all commerce prohibited; yet they

still continue to smuggle out brandies, and a few other articles.

Grao has only a flat beach, and the trade is very inconsiderable; it imports cloth, linen, iron goods, jewellery, spices, and corn from France; and exports wine, dried fruits, wool, soda, and barilla to France, and brandies to Holland and the North of Europe: its exports, however, exceed the imports. There is very little importation into the *road of Cullera*, and its exportation chiefly consists in the rice sent to Andalusia, and the island of Majorca. *Alicant*, next to Cadiz and Barcelona, is the most trading port in Spain. From nine hundred to a thousand ships annually enter its road. The number in the year 1782, amounted to nine hundred and sixty-one; of which six hundred were Spanish, principally Catalonian vessels.

It imports woollen goods, jewellery, and trinkets from France and England; groceries from France and Holland; and linen cloth from France, Switzerland, and Silesia; it exports dried fruits, wools, wine, kermes, spartum, salt, and a great quantity of soda and barilla. About fifty thousand quintals, 48,076¾ cwt. of the last article, is on an average annually exported from this port; of which quantity eighty thousand quintals, 76,923½ cwt. are sent to France, and the remainder to England. The trade in the whole is very considerable.

Catalonia possesses five ports, viz. *Palamos*, *Cadaquez*, *Rosas*, *Salon*, and *Barcelona*; and two roads,

roads, *Tortosa* and *Tarragona*. The ports of *Palamos*, *Cadaquez*, and *Rosas*, carry on merely a coasting trade. A large quantity of brandy is sent from *Salon*; the principal depositary of Catalonia being situated at Reus, two leagues distant from the port. Barcelona, though rather a road than a harbour, conducts greater part of the trade of Catalonia; about a thousand vessels belonging to different nations annually enter this port; nearly a third part of the number are French, a sixth English, an eighth Dutch, another eighth Italian, chiefly Genoese, and the rest Hamburghers, Swedish, Danish, and Spanish, principally Catalonian vessels. Quantities of silks are imported from Lyons, Nimes, and Ganges; woollen cloths, jewellery, trinkets, and iron goods, from France; calicoes and salt-fish from England; grain from France, Italy, Africa, and the North of Europe; various productions from the Spanish colonies, and quantities of silver from the American mines. It exports to the colonies large quantities of silk, printed and coloured calicoes, with other cotton goods; silk stockings, writing paper, marbled paper, shoes, and wine; quantities of wine and brandy it sends to England, Holland, and the North of Europe; cork to France and England, and to the latter country abundance of nuts. The annual amount of the commerce, by the port of Barcelona, is estimated at forty millions of livres tournois, (1,666,666*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.*) The roads of

Tortosa and Tarragona participate in a small portion of foreign trade; from the former are exported soda and dried fruits, but in small quantities. The coast extending from Culela to Mataro presents a scene of numerous small roads, constantly covered with vessels employed in the coasting trade between Spain and the south of France, and others which trade with America.

Spanish commerce, in a general point of view, is rather passive than active, and formerly this was much more the case than at present. At one period few national ships were employed; but the Spaniards have gradually turned their attention to this important department, and the number of national ships occupied in the foreign trade is considerably increased. In the year 1778 Spain had from four to five hundred merchant vessels, of which number the ports of Catalonia furnished a moiety, and the other moiety belonged to those of Biscay. The establishment of a free trade to America gave new energies to commerce, and tended to augment the quantity of shipping. Catalonia only, at the present period, can boast of possessing more than a thousand vessels; and the city of Cadiz has more than a hundred ship-owners.

The foreign trade of Spain has assigned for its regulation peculiar tribunals, which will be described in the account of exclusive jurisdictions, under the article which more immediately relates to the administration of justice.

Spanish

Spanish probity is proverbial, and it conspicuously shines in commercial relations. Good faith and punctuality are generally prevalent among merchants, the instances of deception, negligence, fraudulent dealing, and non-fulfilment of engagements, so general in the trading world, being unknown, or not practised amongst them. Their integrity has been manifested on many important occasions; a few examples will be sufficient to justify this assertion. The fleets that sail from Spain to Porto Bello, on their arrival attract a concourse of merchants, who give the silver coinage of America in exchange for the commodities of the European continent: and not a case of the former, nor a bale of the latter is opened, but all is received with a noble and mutual confidence upon the simple verbal assurances of the parties respecting the contents; and only one single instance of deception was ever known for the space of two centuries to have been practised. All the coined silver sent home in the year 1654 was found debased by the admixture of a fifth part of baser metal; but no sooner had the fraud been discovered, than the Spanish merchants appeared eager to support the whole loss themselves, and to indemnify all foreigners with whom they had transacted business on that occasion. The treasurer of finance, *Du Perron*, was convicted as the author of the debasement, and for the crime was publicly burnt alive. The contraband trade of

America furnishes daily new proofs of the probity, which is evinced by the Spanish merchants; the French, English, and Dutch, bear testimony to this high character, who lend their names, and in other ways assist the merchants of Spain; and scarcely an instance has occurred where these have not proved faithful to their engagements. Neither apprehension of danger, nor the attraction of gain, can ever induce them to betray or deceive those who honour them with their confidence.

CHAPTER V.

ROADS, BRIDGES, AND CAUSEWAYS.

Few countries can be found where the roads have been so long neglected, so ill preserved, or kept in such bad repair, as they have till lately been in Spain; they were nearly impassable, dangerous in numerous places, and in others scarcely *traceable*. Many at the present time are in such a state that travelling is very difficult, attended with inexpressible fatigue, and sometimes with peril, even on the great roads of the kingdom.

The roads of Catalonia, although it is the most commercial province of Spain, are the least attended to, and their management the very worst. No surveyor to inspect them, when bad they are never repaired, so that daily they become progressively worse: even the great and direct roads are frequently impassable. The road leading from Gironna

ronna to the river Tordera is full of such deep ruts, that carriages are in perpetual danger of being overturned; and the accumulations of mud frequently form miry pools, in which, should horses plunge, they must stick, or be got out with considerable difficulty. The road passing from Barcelona to the confines of Aragon, by way of Saragossa and Madrid, is, if possible, in a worse state; the large and deep ruts, with the pools of sludge, render travelling exceedingly difficult and perilous; numerous rivers and ravines cross it, over which no bridges are thrown, so that the traveller is obliged to pass in places through water for some distance together, and those parts which are annoyed with sludge or water are also full of large rubbly stones: its course is over mountains and hills, whose ascents are steep, and declivities rapid. The road from Barcelona to the frontiers of the kingdom of Valencia, although the most frequented of any in the monarchy, was manifestly the very worst, previous to the journey taken by king Charles the Fourth. It was then ordered to be put in complete repair, and is at present a very good, if not the best, road in Spain.

If we penetrate further into the interior, many great roads will be discovered equally bad. In Aragon the road from the confines of Catalonia to Saragossa is painful and difficult to travel, from the numerous sloughs, rough stones, and continual succession of acclivities and declivities. That

which

which leads from Saragossa to the frontiers of New Castile is extremely rough and jolting, from the mountainous district through which it passes, as well as the numerous large stones with which it is bestrewed. The road from Albacete to the city of Murcia, the one from las Casas de Benicasi, and that from Alcala to Chivert in the kingdom of Valencia, are calculated to alarm and intimidate the most courageous traveller. The road from las Pedreras de Elche, in the latter province, is wholly covered with large loose stones, and rupestrian fragments. The post-road from Madrid to Valencia is very uneven, rough, and pebbly: and the part passing over the mountains of Contreras and Cabrillos, is full of acclivites, very difficult to surmount.

Hitherto the great and most frequented roads have only been noticed. But if the traveller goes further into the country, he will find the cross and vicinal roads to be in a far worse state, for the greater part are absolutely impassable. And these are but a faint representation of the former state of all the roads in Spain. Travelling was attended with the utmost difficulty and danger: incessant perils attended the traveller, he was momentarily obstructed by some obstacle, every turn his vehicle was likely to be overset, thrown into deep ditches, or precipitated by shelving rocks, and plunged into a profound abyss.

The reigns of Ferdinand the Sixth and Charles the

the Third produced the most beneficial changes in this important branch of political economy. New roads were opened, which were carefully levelled, and constructed with solidity. There are at the present time in Spain several superb roads, such as may vie with the finest in Europe; indeed they have been made with superior judgment, and upon a grander scale.

The beautiful road which crosses the kingdom of Valencia from Castello de la Plana, even to Puerto de Almanza, a space of twenty-five leagues, merits the preference. The continuation of this road leading to Aranjuez, crossing a lingula or tongue of land in the kingdom of Murcia and la Mancha, is excellent; but passing through a country where the soil is loose and deep, it does not possess an equal solidity.

The road from Malaga to Antequera, in the kingdom of Granada, is not in a straight line, nor can it be; but its irregularity tends to increase its picturesque beauty, winding in a serpentine direction for an extent of seven leagues, over and between hills, abounding with delightful vineyards.

A very excellent solid road, though constructed upon an unfavourable soil, was opened in the year 1759, which, extending over lofty and steep mountains, forms the communication between Old and New Castile, by way of Puerto del Guadarrama; it connects the district of Montaña with Campas Burgos, Palencia, Valladolid, and Madrid.

Catalonia,

Catalonia, although it is traversed in almost every part of it by roads nearly in an impassable state, yet possesses some few, whose excellence makes it desirable that they should be continued. Such is the road from Col de Pertios to Junquera, and such would have been also that from Barcelona to the bridge of Molins de Rey, if the substratum had been made firm; such is the one running to the confines of the kingdom of Valencia, by Emposta, and along the banks of the Ebro; and similar are some parts of the road which extend from Arbos, Villa Franca, and Panadez, to the bridge of Molins de Rey. The magnificent viaduct of arcades, formed by a double range of arches, which has been constructed upon the latter road, for the purpose of obtaining an easy communication over a deep marsh, though not quite completed, at present answers the proposed end.

New Castile abounds with excellent roads; that which forms the communication between Old and New Castile, and those leading to Madrid and the several royal palaces, have been previously noticed. The road which was opened in the year 1787 below Torija, the one leading from Alcale de Henarez to Madrid, and another going from the capital into Andalusia, and to Cadiz, are equally fine. The passage through the Sierra Morena, which occurs on the latter road, is a striking monument of human power and industry in levelling the most rugged surfaces, cutting through adamantine rocks,

and

and overcoming obstacles apparently insurmountable.

A beautiful road was opened to Plasencia in the year 1784. One still more excellent goes from Corunna to Pontevedra in Galicia, and another very good road passes from Reynosa to the sea.

The roads running through the three cantons which form the province of Biscay, viz. Biscay proper, Alava, and Guipuzcoa, are so good, that they may be placed in competition with the best in Europe; notwithstanding they have been constructed in districts, where natural obstacles momentarily presented themselves, and difficulties which appeared invincible continually occurred. Mountains were perforated, abrupt ascents and steep declivities were diminished, or avoided, by turning the roads in different directions round the escarpments of the hills: for these excellent roads the country is indebted to the enlightened policy and attentive care of the Biscayan government. A road, recently opened, is intended to lead the traveller to the capital of the kingdom. Another excellent road goes from Sant Andero to Reynosa. One, still more magnificent, commences at Miranda de Ebro, and continues along the side of the river Ebro from Zadorra, nearly as far as Vittoria; this is again extended even to the frontiers of France; and in the latter part of the line it is embellished by numerous villages, and houses sprinkled on both sides, ornamented with a multiplicity of plantations, and

and enlivened by a large and laborious population; all is animated and gay, all breathes industry and activity, all smiles with cheerfu lness and content.

Bridges.

Spain abounds with rivers and rivulets, greater part of which become impetuous torrents instantaneously when the snows melt, or after heavy falls of rain; yet most of them are destitute of bridges, even where they cross the principal roads.

In the kingdom of Leon there are very few bridges upon the great roads: two, however, should be mentioned, the one of Aranda de Duero upon the river Duero, and that of Salamanca: the former is a solid good structure; the latter merits particular attention as being of Roman construction, and is supposed to have been erected or rebuilt in the reign of the emperor Trajan. It is twelve paces in breadth, five hundred in length, and consists of twenty-seven arches.

Many rivers run across, or in a diagonal direction over the great roads of Catalonia, destitute of bridges: the river Llobregat, frequently between Junquera and Figueras; the Fluvia between Figueras and Gironna; the Tordera and the Beliet between Gironna and Mataro; the Bezos in the vicinity of Barcelona; all which lie upon the great road from the frontier of France to Barcelona. The Noya frequently intersects the road from the latter city into Aragon; the Gaya at Altafulla; two other rivers between Arbos and Bordeta; another between Bordeta and Los Manges; these four places are upon the road leading from Tarragona to Barcelona: yet all these rivers, especially the Llobregat, the Tordera, and the Bezos, are at times subject to prodigious swells, and become exceedingly dangerous. There are, however, a few bridges over some of the rivers where they cross the great roads in this province. The Muga has a small bridge over it above Figueras, called *pont de Molins*,

Molins; pont Mayor is upon the Tor near Gironna; a small bridge crosses the Cenia, where that river divides Catalonia from the kingdom of Valencia; a bridge of six arches bestrides the Trancoli, near Tarragona: the bridge of *Molins de Rey*, over the Llobregat, which was constructed under the auspices of Charles the Third, is a very handsome structure; another solid good bridge crosses the Segra at the entrance into Lerida. The Ebro at Emposta is passed by a ferry-boat, and the Fluvia below Pascara by a wretched small boat, which does not admit carriages.

Aragon has none but wooden bridges upon the great road from Barcelona to Saragossa; these are over the Cinca at Fraga, and the Gallego below Saragossa, upon that river, near the confines of New Castile; a small bridge is found upon the Jalon at Techa, and another over the same river at Alhama; with a few others recently constructed. The city of Saragossa has two bridges over the Ebro; one of wood and the other of brick, with stone coining, which is a large and beautiful structure; but shamefully neglected, although it commands the road to numerous villages.

Andalusia has few bridges, besides those upon the new road, made a few years since to open a communication with Cadiz over the Sierra Morena, viz. one over the Rumblan between Baylen and la Casa del Rey, in the kingdom of Jaen; a little further the Guadalimar is crossed by a ferry-boat, between Linares and Ibros. Over the Guadalquivar are two bridges; one between Carpio and Cordova, and the other just at the entrance of the latter city, both in the kingdom of Cordova; the first, called *pont de Alcolea*, is built of black marble, and consists of twenty arches; and the latter has thirteen. In the kingdom of Seville are two bridges, one of eleven arches over the Xenil at Ecija, another newly erected upon the Guadaleta, near the Carthusian monastery of Xerez de la Frontera. Seville, situated upon the Guadalquivar, has over it a bridge of boats, which forms a communication between the city and the suburbs, called Triana.

The

The kingdom of Murcia has very few rivers; the Segura is the only considerable one, which is crossed in the city of Murcia by an elegant bridge. The Arroy-de-Betlem and the Guadalentin are nothing more than small rivulets; but frequently their waters are so increased as to overflow the banks, and greatly annoy the road leading from Murcia to Lorca; over neither of which is there a bridge. There are three handsome modern-built bridges over the Guadalentin, to the southward of the same city, upon the road leading to the port of Aguillas.

On the great road which traverses the kingdom of Valencia there is only a single bridge, which is across the Mijarez below Villa Real; it is a handsome structure, erected in the year 1794. This road is crossed by rivulets which become dangerous torrents in rainy seasons; among many others the Llombay below Alcudia de Carlet, and the Servol Vinaroz; the river Jucar is passed by a ferry-boat, but the passage is impracticable, when the river has overflowed its banks. In the course of the road from Orihuela to Villena and Valencia, the river Elda is passed three times without bridges. On the one from Valencia to Segorbe, the Canales also is passed without the aid of bridges, between Andilla and Bexis; but there is a bridge over the river Palencia between Xerica and the monastery of Esperanza. The city of Orihuela has two bridges over the Segura; and Valencia five upon the Turia or Guadalaviar, which are excellent and substantial structures.

In La Mancha are few rivulets, and those inconsiderable streams. The traveller passes two small bridges in the road from Madrid to Valencia, another in the road from the capital to the Sierra Morena, and crosses a beautiful bridge on that from Madrid to Ciudad Real. The two former bridges are, one across the Rianjarez at Corral de Almaguer, and the other upon the Jixera, between the latter town and Quintanar de la Orden; the third is upon the Guisuela at Villarta; and the last is over the Guadiana, beyond Fernand Cavallero.

In

In Estremadura, Old, and New Castile, generally speaking, are the most handsome and by far the most numerous bridges.

Estremadura has many bridges upon the great road from Madrid to Lisbon; at Almarez there is a superb and sumptuous one over the Tagus, which was built in the sixteenth century; a bridge of nine arches crosses the Alamanta near Jaraycejo; another over the Burdalo near Miojadas; upon the river Albarregas is a beautiful bridge of Roman construction, just going out of Merida, and another at Badajoz; the first erected in the reign of the emperor Trajan, and the last in the sixteenth century. On the same road the traveller meets with small rivulets and streams, which being devoid of bridges, and swelling into torrents after violent rains, become at times very perilous to pass; for instance, the Peralez at the foot of the Puerto de Santa Cruz; the Guadaxira near Lobon; the Lentrin and Rivilla, between Merida and Badajoz. The Tagus is passed by a ferry-boat above Talavera la Veija, in the road which leads to the latter city from Almarez. On the road passing from Almarez to Alcantara and Cacerez there are three small bridges over the Ambroz; two below Aldea Nueva, and one at Caparra, consisting of four arches; a fine bridge of seven arches upon the Xerte, between Aldehuela and Galisteo; and a magnificent bridge of five hundred and sixty-six feet eleven inches long bestrides the Tagus at Alcantara; this superb structure was erected by the Romans.

In Old Castile are numerous bridges, and some upon the road leading from the confines of France to Madrid are handsomely built. Of these two are over the Pizuerga, one of eight arches, which is a fine structure of solid masonry, at Quintana del Puenta; the other, consisting of twenty-six arches, is at Celada; a fine bridge crosses the Duero near Puenta Duero; two cross the Adaja between Hornillos and Valladolid. On the same road also is seen a handsome bridge over the Ebro at Miranda de Ebro, three on the Alanzon at Burgos, three across the Esgueva at Valladolid, and about

half a league from that city is a beautiful bridge of eight arches, three hundred and seventeen feet long, over the Pisuerga, near where the road passes from Valladolid to the convent for monks of the order of St. Jerome. Two other bridges appear upon the road from Granja to Segovia and Cuellar, the first upon the Valsin, and the last on the Piron.

On the great roads from New Castile some of the rivers have no bridges, as the Henarez at the passage of Guadalaxara; the Carnamilla and Torota at the pass of Alcula de Henarez; the Guaderrama between Madrid and Talavera de la Reyna. Many, however, are crossed by bridges; one at Viverez on the left of the road from Alcala de Henarez to Madrid; the two of Segovia and Toledo, over the Manzanarez, in the vicinity of Madrid, are very handsome structures, erected in the reign of Philip the Second; the bridge of Talavera de la Reyna, upon the Tagus, is of considerable extent, but the construction is bad, and the masonry worse; there is a bridge over the Guadarrama, in the road from Ceboila to Toledo; the bridge lately erected over the Xarama, upon the road from Madrid to Aranjuez, is a handsome structure; there is also in the road from Madrid, leading to the frontiers of Valencia, a bridge across the Cabriel, called *de Pajazó*; at Aranjuez is a bridge of boats over the Tagus; and a handsome wooden bridge, remarkable for its great length, upon the Alberche, about a league from Talavera to Madrid.

A sad inattention appears throughout the kingdom of Spain with respect to bridges, not only by neglecting to repair damages and prevent dilapidations, but also the reconstruction of such as are broken down.

The bridge at Talavera de la Reyna, upon the Tagus, has long been in a ruinous state, yet no repairs have been done, and, to continue the communication, planks have been thrown across the tottering arches.

The bridge of Saragossa, upon the Ebro, is no better attended

tended to, notwithstanding a considerable revenue is allowed for its support.

There was a stone bridge over the Gallego, upon the road from Barcelona to Saragossa, about a league from the latter city; this having been carried away by a flood, a temporary wooden bridge was erected, which yet remains; the projectors apparently forgot that this river, from its breadth, the vast body of water, and the rapidity of the stream, when there is a flush, demanded one of more durable construction.

The bridge of Guadalaxara, upon the Henarez, was swept away in the year 1774, and has not yet been rebuilt, nor even has a temporary bridge been substituted, although it is upon the great road from Madrid.

An inundation destroyed the bridge at Castro Gonzalo, upon the Esla, in the year 1789; contributions were collected from the villages in the vicinity for the purpose of erecting another; but, after a few loads of stone were brought, the matter rested, and its reconstruction has not yet been commenced. The bridge over the Alberche, one league from Talavera de la Reyna, upon the great road from Madrid to the frontiers of Portugal, was a long time since carried away by the stream; contributions were levied on the districts for ten leagues round, and these were even repeated three times, the money disappeared, and no bridge was built; however a quantity of timber had been collected for driving piles, &c. but this timber, unattended to, is constantly perishing, and what remains on the side of the river can be of no possible use.

CHAP. VI.

Canals, and internal Navigation.

MANY of the Spanish rivers were navigable under the Romans. That people sailed in their gallies and barks upon the Ebro, the Guadalquivir,

the Tagus, the Jucar, and several other rivers. In the reign of Vespasian, the Ebro was navigable from its embochure at the ocean, to a place called *Vario*, not far distant from the present Logroño, a distance of sixty leagues up the country. The navigation continued open subsequently to that period. History relates that the Moors made incursions by sea towards the mouth of this river in the year 1126 and 1131, when Alphonso the First, king of Aragon, constructed and fitted out a number of ships and boats at Saragossa which were intended to repel them.

These rivers being afterwards neglected, the navigation became difficult, and at length impracticable. The acknowledged utility, however, led at different times to the formation of plans for the re-establishment of such navigation, and making other rivers navigable, which had never appeared to have been in such a state at any former period.

Towards the middle of the sixteenth century, a project was suggested to render the Guadalquivir navigable, from the sea as far as Cordova; but it was quickly relinquished.

A short time after a navigation was proposed to be established upon the Guadalquivir and the Guadaleta, and to form a communication between those rivers by means of a canal; the plan was formed; and the expenses of its execution estimated at four hundred thousand ducats, eleven hundred thousand livres tournois (45,833*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*)

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This scheme, had it been realized, would have been very advantageous to Andalusia, especially for the West India and American trade; but the project was abandoned almost as soon as it was conceived.

Different proposals have frequently been made for improving the navigation of the Tagus. Ferdinand the Fifth was desirous of making this river navigable, and he was actually engaged in the great design, when the death of his consort Isabella, in the year 1505, prevented the execution. The navigation of this river was established in the year 1580, during the reign of Philip the Second, after the union of Portugal with the crown of Castile. It was first opened from Lisbon to Alcantara. The great engineer Jean Baptista Antoneli prepared a plan for extending it much further: the different states of the monarchy honoured the plan with their approbation in the year 1584, and they requested that the Tagus might be rendered navigable to Toledo; and to effect the great undertaking they offered the sum of one hundred thousand ducats, two hundred sixty-five thousand livres tournois (11,046*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) The plan of Antioneli was executed; the navigation was established as far as Talavera la Veija in the year 1588, and subsequently to Toledo: at the lower part of that city may yet be seen the quay, where the boats were loaded and discharged, which still preserves the name of *Plazuela de las barcas*. This navigation

entirely ceased during the reign of Philip the Third; but the cause of the cessation is unknown.

While Spain was carrying on a war in Portugal, in the year 1640, the difficulty of supplying the army with provisions and ammunition induced the government to think of restoring the navigation of the Tagus. The suggestion was ardently pursued; the engineers, Louis Carduchi, and Jules Marteli, were ordered to draw up plans for the purpose; these plans and projects were published, and formed a large volume, but were never carried into effect.

The same scheme was taken up in the reign of Charles the Second, and at the same time it was proposed to cut canals from Madrid to Aranjuez, and from Aranjuez to Alcala de Henarez. The brothers Ferdinand and Charles Grimemberg, Flemish engineers, made a survey of the line of country, and their plans were published; but these, like preceding projects, were never executed.

Philip the Fifth was desirous of attaining this object in the year 1740, and the marquis de Villadarias, secretary of state, to further the design, demanded of the chapter and the guild-hall of Toledo the plans, &c. of Carduchi and Marteli; but this attempt had a similar result.

The son and successor of Philip the Fifth, Ferdinand the Sixth, was desirous of accomplishing the grand and beneficial object. But various obstacles were opposed to the execution of the plan.

plan. One of the principal objections, was the pretended necessity for preserving the numerous mills erected upon the Tagus, which the scheme, if carried into effect, would inevitably destroy. Don Joseph Carvajal, minister of state, endeavoured to remove this obstacle by constructing *boat-mills*. From the success attending the project it appeared these might be beneficially substituted in the place of the other mills, as possessing more advantages and fewer disadvantages. The death of that minister rendered this scheme, fraught with utility, abortive, and since that period the subject has never been resumed. Some few of the rivers in Spain have a navigation, but it is extremely confined, and extends to a very limited distance.

Small barges sail up the Tinto from its mouth, to Xaguera, where the river joins the Odiel in the kingdoms of Seville and Andalusia.

The navigation of the river San Pedro in the kingdom of Seville, reaches from its mouth as far as the bridge of Suazo.

The Ansa, below Bilboa, in the lordship of Biscay, forms a river sufficient to admit large vessels, which can sail from its embochure at the ocean up to Bilboa.

The Jucar, in the kingdom of Valencia, which empties itself into the Mediterranean sea, has water sufficient to carry boats for some extent of line; but the navigation ends at Cullera, only a quarter of a league from its mouth.

The Guadalquivir is a considerable river in the reach from Seville to the sea; boats, barges, and large vessels sail from its mouth between San Lucar de Barameda, and Val de Vaccas up to Seville, a distance of sixteen leagues. By means of this river Seville carries on its foreign trade, which formerly was very great; but it has of late years suffered much by its rival neighbour, Cadiz.

The utility of navigable canals has been long and generally acknowledged. In Spain the advantages of forming such communications between the different inland and maritime provinces are strikingly apparent, and often have proposals been made for their establishment; but every plan of this sort remains unexecuted to the present day.

The canal of Manzanarez, it appears, was the first undertaken, and was recommenced under several reigns without success. The plan was re-adopted in the reign of Charles the Third, and the work proceeded on. The line was intended to extend from the bridge at Toledo on the side of Madrid, as far as Xarama. The end in view was to supply the capital with provisions, and other articles, and by extending the canal to the Xarama, and making that river navigable, to form a communication with the sea. A moiety was performed, and seven sluices had been constructed; but the scheme seems now to be relinquished, for nothing has been performed for a long time towards its completion. The navigation at present conducted upon

it

it consists of about twenty small boats, carrying about nine hundred quintals each.

A scheme was projected to cut a canal across part of the kingdom of Murcia, and open into the Mediterranean sea near the port of los Aguilas; but this project has been abandoned as before noticed.

A few years since a scheme was adopted for making a canal, which commencing at the feet of the mountains of Guadarrama, near the palace of the Escurial, should extend to the Tagus, join the Guadiana, and abut on the Guadalquivir, below Anduxar. This canal would have passed through great part of Spain, and the portion of country containing the most arid soil and the least population: the death of le Maur, who had furnished the plan, and was commissioned to see it executed, suspended the noble undertaking.

The construction of a canal, which promised no less advantages, was proposed and the work begun in the reign of Ferdinand the Sixth. The line was intended to run through Old Castile, and part of the kingdom of Leon, from the Duero and Segovia even to Reynosa, twenty leagues from the port of Sant Andero. It was to commence at Segovia, pass by the side of the Eresma, at length coalesce with that river, and with it fall into the Duero; after entering the Pisuerga below Valladolid, communicate by means of that river with another canal, which was to be cut, and to pass to Veruela, Dueñas,

Dueñas, Palencia, and Crisota, where it might receive the waters of the Campos, which flow from Medina del Rio Secoto, thence to Convento de Calahorra, Osorno, Herrera de Pisuerga, Estrecho de Nogales, Estrecho de Congosta, Villa Escusca, Sabria, Comesa, and Olea, near to Fontibra, within two leagues of Reynosa. This canal was begun in the year 1753. A long time since, much of the digging had been performed, but the work has been from some cause abandoned; and even the portion of the line which had been completed has been entirely neglected, and the excavations are insensibly filling up by the falling in of the earth, and the sand and mud brought and deposited by the waters.

The projected canal of Aragon, a long time since had in contemplation, was at length happily executed under the reigns of Charles the Third and Fourth, and during the administration of Count Florida Blanca. This has already been noticed with sufficient detail, as to its extent, &c. &c.

Many of the Spanish rivers empty themselves into the Atlantic, after passing through Portugal. The differences which unhappily too often subsisted between the two countries, prevented the undertaking of any great improvements upon these rivers; because the caprice of either monarch might have rendered them abortive or useless. But at the present period, when the countries are influenced by the same views, and Spain is governed by a prince who devotes his time and attention

to

to the amelioration of his country, it is highly probable that extensive plans of improvement will be adopted, and others previously projected, carried into execution. The state of Spain, more than any other kingdom, requires the aid of canals, and navigable rivers, not only for commercial communications, but the irrigation of the country.

CHAP. VII.

GOVERNMENT.

Spain was never governed by a king who was not of foreign origin. Monarchs either of a Gothic or Moorish race, French or Austrian, or of the late royal house in France, have filled the Spanish throne from the year 411 till the present day. The Goths reigned in Spain from the year 411 till 711; the Moors from the year 711 till 716 in part of the Asturias, till 820 in Catalonia, till 750 in Sobrarba, till 923 in Leon, till 1073 in different parts of the two Castiles, till 1118 in Aragon, till 1236 in Cordova and Jaen, till 1248 in Seville, till 1264 in the kingdom of Valencia, till 1265 in that of Murcia, and even so late as 1492 in Granada. During the wars against the Moors, the Goths reigned in the Asturias, Galicia, and finally in the kingdom of Leon till 1038 *.

The house of Navarre descended from the French

* Till the death of Bermudo the Third, the last prince of that race.

house

house of Bigorre, which had previously reigned in Castile for ten years, united with it the crown of Leon till the year 1126*. This was succeeded by the family of Bourbon, descended from the royal family of France, which reigned over these countries till 1555†. The house of Charlemagne, a French family descended from that prince, ruled over Catalonia from the year 802 till 1132‡. The French family of Bigorre first reigned in Sobrarba, and afterwards in Aragon, from the year 750 to

* Sancho the First was the first monarch of the house of Navarre, who reigned in Castile, by his marriage with Nuna Mayor, sister and heiress of Garcias, the last count of Castile, and the first who assumed the title of king. His son, Ferdinand the First, was the first of this house who reigned in the kingdom of Leon, by his marriage with Sancha, sister and heiress of Bermudo the Third. This family became extinct in Castile and Leon, on the death of Urraca, daughter and heiress of Alphonso the First, king of Castile and Leon.

† By the marriage of Raymond de Bourbon with Urraca, mentioned in the preceding note: queen Joanna the foolish, daughter of Ferdinand the Fifth, the wife of Philip of Austria, and mother of Charles the First, who died in 1555, was the last branch.

‡ Guifre le Velu, governor of Catalonia under the kings of France, usurped the sovereignty about the year 874, and became the first hereditary count of Barcelona. One of his descendants, Raymond the Fifth, who died in 1172, was the last, the title merging in that of King of Aragon, which dignity he obtained by his marriage with the heiress of that kingdom. Catalonia then became subject to the crown of Aragon.

1162;

1162*; at that period the French family of Barcelona† succeeded to the government, and united to the crown of Aragon that of Catalonia, and afterwards the kingdom of Valencia, over which it reigned till the year 1430‡. These parts of Spain then came into the possession of the princes of the French branch of Navarre, which reigned in Castile§, and continued in their descendants to 1515‖; at which time the different states of the Spanish monarchy were united under the government of Joanna the foolish¶, who reigned over them till her death, which happened in 1555**. The Austrian family then possessed the throne of Spain

* Garci Ximinez was the first king of Sobrarba, in the year 750; and Ramire the First, of Aragon, in 1035. Both those families were extinct on the death of queen Petronilla, in the year 1162.

† By the marriage of Raymond, the fifth count of Barcelona, with Petronilla, daughter and heiress of king Ramire the Second, their son Alphonso the Second succeeded his mother in 1162.

‡ Till the death of king Martin the last male of that family.

§ By Ferdinand the First, son of Eleanor of Aragon, sister of king Martin, and consort of John, the first king of Castile.

‖ By the death of Ferdinand, the second king of Aragon and fifth of Castile.

¶ Daughter of Ferdinand, the second of Aragon and fifth of Castile, called the Catholic Ferdinand, and Isabella, daughter of John, the second king of Castile, and sister of Henry the Fourth, surnamed the Powerful, declared the heiress of the estates of that prince.

** She was married to Philip, archduke of Austria, who died two years after.

till

*till 1700†, since which time it was occupied by a branch of the house of Bourbon, till the late revolution, which has placed the crown upon the head of Joseph the First, brother of Napoleon Buonaparte, emperor of the French.‡

The Spanish government, which was of a limited nature, during the dynasties of the kings of Castile and Aragon, afterwards became an absolute monarchy. At that period the royal prerogative was confined both by the express tenour of the laws and the forms of their administration; some account of which has been given in describing the provinces of Castile and Aragon. The peculiar privileges of those two states continued to exist long after their reunion; but the royal authority was constantly taking umbrage at their exercise.

* Charles the First, called Charles the Fifth, son of Joanna, governed as emperor during his mother's life; but he had not possession of the states, till after her demise.

† On the death of Charles the Second, the last monarch of this family.

‡ The conclusion is, that from the invasion of the country by the Goths, in the year 1511, to the year 1708, a period of 1387 years, the throne of Spain was occupied by foreigners; partly by the Goths, and partly by the Moors, during the space of three hundred and twenty-seven years; and by the Austrian family during one hundred and forty-seven years; and by French families for the space of six hundred and twenty-five years. The French also reigned in Sobrarba, Aragon, and Catalonia, during the three hundred twenty-seven years that the other parts of Spain were divided between the Goths and Moors.

The

The princes of the Austrian family did not openly attack them, but had recourse to the more effectual method of secretly undermining them; and thus were so far diminished, that at the close of the seventeenth century they amounted to little more than mere forms. The attachment of Aragon to the cause of the archduke Charles, induced the first sovereign of the royal family of France to abolish them entirely. Philip the Fifth, as previously observed, having subdued Aragon, suppressed the states-general, the last meeting having been held at Saragossa in the year 1720, on which occasion queen Isabella of Savoy presided in the absence of her husband, who was at that time in Italy. Since that period no further power is left the *Cortez* of Castile and Aragon, but the privilege of nominating deputies to the states-general of the kingdom, whenever they are summoned by the monarch.

The whole authority at present centres in the king and his ministers; the national affairs are conducted by the different councils, appointed by the crown, which deliberate and form their plans in the capital. Some of these possess both legislative and executive power, and exercise the double function of advising the king, and administering justice. The council of Castile, in this distribution of power, is paramount; its decrees being decisive in the courts, but its judgments are under the controul of the king. The resolutions are transmitted

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to the monarch by a certain number of members, under the title of the *Chamber of Castile*, whose influence is prodigiously great. This council is so denominated, because the members chosen by the king formerly co-operated with ministers in expediting the affairs of state in the royal chamber, and for this purpose they attended the court wherever it was held. Some writers say this assembly was constituted a tribunal by Charles the First, in the year 1588; and others, by Philip the Second, in 1518. The chamber at present consists of a head, called the President of the Council of Castile, of a governor or dean of the council, and certain counsellors who are distinguished by the appellation of *Camaristas*; the number is indefinite, but seldom exceeds five or six. The same style and title is given to this council as to the sovereign, it is addressed by the term *señor*, that is, my *lord*, or *sire*, at the head of every petition presented before it; in the body of the same, the appellation of *your majesty* is adopted; and every member has the title of *most illustrious*.

This chamber is, properly speaking, an emanation from the essence of the council of Castile. It nominates for the king's choice all persons for the cabinet, the courts of chancery and of common pleas, and for judges, high constables, and to fill all other judicial offices in the state, as well as the periodic court established at Madrid. The heralds' office and the rights of the privileged orders are placed

placed under its cognizance and controul: the titles of dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, barons, and patents for the creation of new peers, are at its disposal. It possesses the power of convening the states general of the kingdom for the purpose of doing homage, and taking the oath of supremacy to the monarch, and the presumptive heir to the crown, and every thing which relates to royal patronage, as it regards benefices, the constitution of *mayorazgos*, granting dispensations, and remitting the punishments adjudged to criminals and delinquents.

This chamber has a court of exchequer, established in the year 1735, whose duty is, to bring or defend, all actions which interest the king, his crown, and prerogative. To this belong three secretaries, one for the ecclesiastical department of the crown of Castile, another for the secular affairs of the same territory, and the third for the management of both the ecclesiastical and secular affairs belonging to the crown of Aragon. The power and influence of these secretaries are very extensive; they enjoy a personal communication with the throne, transact the most important business without consulting the chamber, and are also the principal dispensers of the royal favours.

Constituted after the model of the Castilian council, The Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies is invested with the same powers, and exercises similar functions for the colonies, as the former

does for the continent of Spain. The latter was appointed in the year 1511, by king Ferdinand the Fifth, and his consort Isabella; and permanently established by Charles the First. A particular president is elected, but the office is usually filled by a governor. This establishment is divided into three halls, or offices, two of *gobierno*, or administration, and one of law, before which all matters of litigation are brought. This council is composed of twenty-one members, two cashiers, two secretaries, a grand chancellor, vice-chancellor, grand alguasil, a treasurer, four comptrollers, and numerous registering clerks. Its jurisdiction extends over civil, military, criminal, economical, affairs, and whatever relates to peace or war, with the administration of justice in Mexico and Peru. It rejects or ratifies all ordinances and constitutions of synods, chapters, convents, viceroys, courts, and companies of the Indies, and civil actions among the inhabitants, termed *encomiendas*, when the sum at issue exceeds a thousand ducats, or 2750 livres tournois (114*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*). It regulates the presidency, and progresses of governors, judges, grand alcaldes, generals, admirals, captains, and all other military and naval officers and concerns of the fleet and army; has the cognizance of all appeals, and the revision of judgments, given by the commercial courts, and of the actions and claims denominated *repartimientos*, among the Indians, the slave-trade, and whatever relates to ecclesiastical

siastical affairs in the Indies. It also exercises some portion of jurisdiction in old Spain, having the inspection of the exchange at Seville, the decisions of the various consuls, judges of the alzadas, through the whole kingdom; but this only in cases of a second appeal, or instances of notorious injustice. It grants licences for the fitting out and sailing of fleets, naval armaments, galloons, &c. &c.

This council has a *junta de guerra*, consisting of a president or governor, four privy and four military counsellors. This tribunal revises, upon appeal or petition, the decisions of viceroys, provincial governors and local courts, respecting both civil and criminal causes among persons bearing military rank in the Indies.

This, like that of Castile, also has a chamber, called *The chamber of India*, constituted in the year 1600. The chamber consists of seven members, and has the privilege of nominating to bishoprics, benefices, and different departments of government, and magistracy, as governors, mayors, chief constables, &c. in the Indies.

Ministers of State.

In Spain are five ministers of state. The first executes the function of conducting foreign affairs; the second is the minister for administering justice and dispensing favours, answering to our minister

of the interior *; the third is the minister of war; the fourth conducts the business of the navy; and the fifth manages the finances.

The councils connected with these ministers, besides the two just described, are,

1. *The supreme council of war*, which conducts every thing relating to military concerns: this will be noticed under the article of military administration.

2. *The royal council de hacienda of finance*, formed in the year 1602, by Philip the Third. Over this is appointed a president; but more frequently a governor presides, who is generally the minister of finance. To this department belong three offices, one for *gobierno* or the administration, one for taxes, and one for justice. The council consists of twenty members, two general treasurers, one comptroller-general of the treasury, one receiver-general of the *millones*; one distributor-general, three receivers of taxes, and two secretaries. The *gobierno*, or government office, takes cognizance of the king's revenues, regulates the ordinary and extraordinary expences of his household, is charged with the preservation of the prerogative and rights of the crown, in the courts of law, in the seignories, estates, rents,

* These, in the order as they are here enumerated, answer to our foreign secretary, secretary for the home department, secretary at war, first lord of the admiralty, and chancellor of the exchequer, or prime minister.—T.

contracts,

contracts, sales of places, quit-rents, and every thing connected with the general treasury belonging to government, and that relates to the collection and distribution of the royal revenues. The office of the *millones* is for the purpose of receiving and distributing the money collected by the taxes bearing this appellation. The functions of these two offices are simply administrative.—The office of justice hears and determines all questions of doubt, and subjects of litigation respecting the finances.

3. The *royal council of orders*, established in favour of the military, will be described under the head of the army.

The *council of state*, or privy council, instituted in the year 1516 by Charles the First, and which properly should precede all others, as consisting of the king's confidential advisers, is become merely an honorary association, and is composed of a small and indefinite number of members, who are persons that have filled the first offices in the state, as ex-viceroys, governors of provinces, commanders of armies, presidents of other councils, and ambassadors. At one period this council occupied itself in what might be considered state affairs, but since the time Cardinal Alberoni was the leading man in administration, under Philip the Fifth, its functions have ceased. It no longer meets, and at present serves only to recompense such persons as the king wishes to distinguish by conferring on

them the high honours and appointments attached to the title of a counsellor of state. The functions of this council were renewed in the month of February, 1795; but no revival of its powers has yet taken place, and most of the members are on leave of absence.

CHAP. VIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF MILITARY AFFAIRS.

The use of arms was the principal occupation of the Spaniards for a long series of time; they were all soldiers, ever prepared to defend their own frontier, or attack that of their enemies. Spain furnished its monarchs with numerous armies of powerful warriors, who carried far and near the glory of the Spanish name; the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries formed the most brilliant period of its military glory. But these troops, once so famous, appear to have degenerated during the disastrous reigns of the latter kings of the Austrian family. In the year 1610, Christoval Perez, their compatriot and brother soldier, complained of this decline; and, in less than a century more, in 1688, Ozorio in his writings declares, that scarcely a person could be found in Spain acquainted with military tactics. When Philip the Fifth ascended the throne, in the last century, there were not fifteen thousand

thousand troops in the kingdom, and it had not a single ship of war fit for sea.

No sooner had this prince peaceably seated himself on the throne than he turned his attention to increase his army, and devoted much of his time to re-establish military discipline. His successors trod in his steps, and the monarchy has consequently got a respectable army, and, by the increase and strength of its naval establishments, is also become a formidable maritime power.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE SPANISH ARMY.

LAND-FORCES.

Army Staff.

The staff of the Spanish army comprises general officers, and many others of different ranks, whose functions contribute to the general administration of military affairs.

Of general officers there are four ranks: *captains-general*, whose rank answers to that of marshal in France, *lieutenant-generals*, *field-marshals*, and *brigadier-generals*; the duty attached to the last three distinctions is the same as formerly belonged to similar rank in France.

Inspectors-general are always appointed from some of the general officers, and such superintend every class of troops of the line; they are perpetual members of the supreme council of war,

carry on a direct correspondence with the army, receive the orders from the king and his ministry, and communicate them to the commanders of the different corps, and nominate to the king proper persons for promotion to the vacancies in rank.

The *military intendants* have the same department allotted to them as the same officers had in France. A certain number are constantly employed, although there may be no army embodied; these are inspectors of particular provinces, on which the same rank is conferred; and each has his peculiar district, comprising one or more provinces.

The *veedores* are a kind of local visitors, or inspectors.

The *contadores* are a kind of comptrollers or auditors of the treasury accounts, distributed through the different provinces.

The *military commissaries* have nearly the same duty as those in France; they generally succeed by seniority to the rank of *chief commissaries*.

The treasurers are the depositaries of the money appropriated for the payment of the army; and they are also distributed through the different provinces.

The *military advocates* are the judges of all litigated matters and offences committed by the officers or soldiery; and these are stationed in the different provinces.

The

The Army-Staff in the year 1798.

General Officers*	Captains-general	8	560
	Lieutenant-generals	112	
	Field-marshals	140	
	Brigadier-generals	300	
Inspectors-general	Of infantry	1	6
	Of cavalry	1	
	Of dragoons	1	
	Of artillery	1	
	Of engineers	1	
	Of militia	1	
Military Intendants			10
Minister of Ceuta, with similar functions			1
Veedores			2
Contadores			12
Military Commissaries	chief or principal	15	84
	ordinary	69	
Treasurers of the army			10
Military Judges			15
	Total		709

Military establishment of the king's household.

The military establishment of the royal household consists of four companies of life-guards, who perform duty within and without the palace, mounted and dismounted; a company of halberdiers, or spearmen, who serve within the pa-

* In 1807 there were but five captains-general, five inspectors, eighty-seven lieutenant-generals, one hundred and twenty-eight field-marshals, and two hundred and thirteen brigadier-generals.

lace;

lace; a regiment of infantry called the Walloon guards; and a regiment of cavalry called royal carabiniers. These different corps were established about the commencement of the eighteenth century; three companies of life-guards, and the Spanish and Walloon guards, in the year 1704; the spearmen in 1707; and the carabiniers in 1730. The fourth corps of life-guards was formed by Charles the Fourth, and, in honour of his colonial subjects, denominated the American company.

Philip the Fifth established these different corps in imitation of the life-guards, the hundred Swiss guards, the French guards, and the Swiss guards, which formed part of the military establishment of the royal household of France. Their dress, like that of the army, was originally blue, the collar, cuffs, and lining red, and waistcoats of the same colour; that of the officers and life-guards richly trimmed with broad silver lace; and wide button-holes, laced in the Brandebourg form, of the dress of the privates in the Spanish and Walloon guards, who were discriminated by their cockades; those of the Spanish guards were scarlet, and of the Walloon guards scarlet mixed with black.

These uniforms have undergone some little change: red facings have been added to the coats of the officers; and in the dress of the life-guards the broad lace of the coat has been omitted, and very

very rich silver lace has been substituted on the collars, cuffs, and facings. The carabiniers wear the same dress, except the facings being blue.

The life-guards are divided into four companies, the Spanish, the American, the Italian, the Walloon, and each consists of natives of these respective countries; they wear shoulder-belts trimmed with silver lace, but of different colours; red distinguishes the Spanish company, purple the American, green the Italian, and yellow the Walloon.

The Walloon company admits, instead of Flemish, sometimes French, particularly such as are born in Roussillon. Every company consists of a captain, three lieutenants, one sub-lieutenant, eight exempts, four brigadiers, four sub-brigadiers, twenty cadets, and two hundred guards, without counting the supernumeraries, who are an indefinite number. The cadets stand next in rank to the sub-brigadiers, are distinguished by an aiguillette* worn on the left shoulder, and receive more pay than the common men. The privates become cadets by seniority, but they often prefer being classed with the supernumeraries, who are particularly favoured. The guards formerly never rose to superior rank, they were merely soldiers; at least they did not obtain preferment till after long service. But Charles the Fourth, in the year 1790,

* This is a narrow strip of silver lace, not so rich as an epaulette.—T.

granted

granted them permission to succeed to sub-lieutenancies, and after a certain period of service to attain the rank of lieutenant, and even captain. Their pay, from the establishment of the corps, had been five reals de vellon (or one livre five sols tournois), one shilling and one halfpenny per day, besides lodging, coal, candle, washing, and a handsome uniform. The same monarch doubled their pay in the year 1791. These guards attend the court six months, and during the remainder of the year they are quartered in barracks (cazern) at Madrid. The cadets and soldiers of long standing become, in routine, lieutenants and captains of cavalry, or dragoons. The four companies united form a brigade, have two brigade-majors, and are commanded by a major, who is at the same time inspector and commander.

A company of flying-artillery has lately been added to this corps; it comprises a commandant, who is either a colonel or lieutenant-colonel, one captain, three lieutenants, two brigade-majors, two serjeants, four corporals, fifty-four privates, and a trumpeter; and it has attached to it eight pieces of artillery. The uniform is a blue jacket, with the lining, collar, and cuffs red, and waistcoat of the same colour; the facings of the officers' uniform are trimmed with silver lace, and those of the privates with worsted lace.

The company of halberdiers, or spearmen, consists

sists of one captain, one lieutenant, one sub-lieutenant, and one hundred guards. This is formed of the finest men that can be selected from the troops of the line.

Each of the two regiments of Spanish or Walloon guards comprises six battalions, commanded by a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, and a major; every battalion consists of seven companies, one of grenadiers, and six of fusileers; each company has one captain, one lieutenant, one sub-lieutenant, one ensign, and one hundred men, including serjeants, corporals, and soldiers. Every company has its colours, and each battalion a brigade-major. The captains rank as colonels in the army, the lieutenants as lieutenant-colonels, the sub-lieutenants and ensigns as captains; the serjeants, after long servitude, attain the rank of lieutenants and sub-lieutenants of infantry. The companies are commanded by the captains, who retain them after they become general officers.

These two regiments are constantly in garrison at Madrid and Barcelona, or quartered at Leganez, near the former place, and at Reussen in Catalonia; two battalions of each lie at Madrid, two at Barcelona, and one in the vicinity of each place; they alternately march from one of these cities to the other, from garrison to quarters, and from quarters to garrison.

The royal carabiniers form a horse regiment, which

which has a chief commandant, commandant en second, a major, and four brigade-majors. It consists of four squadrons, each including one hundred and fifty men, forming four troops, each having a captain, lieutenant, and sub-lieutenant. Both officers and men are selected from other regiments of cavalry and dragoons, and their pay is rather more than that of other horse-soldiers. Although they form part of the military establishment of the king's household, yet they never lie at Madrid, but are in garrison at La Mancha.

Observe. Some changes were made in the royal household in the year 1803; the military establishment was reduced to seven thousand three hundred men. This reduction took place in the two regiments of guards, that mustered but three battalions, consisting each of a thousand men; and the four companies of guards, which have but one hundred and eighty men each. The carabiniers preserved their number, but they were then divided into six squadrons, four of heavy horse, and two of chasseurs and hussars, appointed as the appropriate guard of the Prince of Peace.

Military

Military establishment of the royal household in the year 1798.

		OFFICERS.	NON COM. OFFICERS & PRIVATES.
Life-guards, 4 companies	1 inspecting major 4 captains 2 brigade majors 12 lieutenants 4 sub-lieutenants 32 exempts 16 brigadiers 16 sub-brigadiers 80 cadets 800 guards	87	880
Flying artillery attached to the Life-guards, 1 company.	a commandant a captain 3 lieutenants 2 brigade majors 61 subalterns & soldiers	7	61
Halberdiers, or spearmen, 1 company.	a captain a lieutenant a sub-lieutenant 100 guards	3	100
Spanish guards, 6 battalions.	a colonel a lieutenant-colonel a major 42 captains 42 lieutenants 42 sub-lieutenants 42 ensigns 4200 serjeants, corporals, and privates	171	4200
The Walloon guards, 6 battalions.	The same in its formation as the Spanish guards	171	4200
Carabiniers, 4 squadrons.	2 commandants a major 16 captains 16 lieutenants 16 sub lieutenants 600 serjeants and privates	51	600
		490	10,041
		10,531	

Cavalry.

Cavalry.

Spain has fifteen regiments of horse, which are denominated the *King's*, the *Queen's*, the *Prince's*, the *Infantado's*, the *Bourbon*, the *Farnesian*, the *Spanish*, the *Algarvan*, the *Calatravan*, the *Sant Jagonian*, the *Montejan*, the *Granadian-coast*, and the *Volunteer*. These all consist of three squadrons each, except that of the *Granadian-coast* and the *Volunteer*, which have four in each. Every regiment has a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, and a major; each squadron has a commandant; the colonel commands the first, the lieutenant-colonel the second, and a particular officer the others, and the brigade-major is appointed from among the lieutenants.

Every squadron includes three troops, each having a captain, a lieutenant, a sub-lieutenant or cornet, and forty-six men, including serjeants and corporals. The colonel, the lieutenant-colonel, and the several commandants of squadrons, have each a troop, which consequently diminishes the number of captains.

The pay of a captain is one thousand and fifty reals, two hundred and sixty-two livres ten sols tournois, (10*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*) per month, and four hundred and forty-five reals, or one hundred and eleven livres five sols tournois, (4*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*) as an allowance for a servant; of a lieutenant, two hundred and sixty reals, and forty-five for a servant, or

sixty-

sixty-six livres, five sols tournois, (*2l. 15s. 2½d.*); and the privates are allowed three quartos, seven sols, seven deniers tournois, three-pence halfpenny seven twenty-fourths of a penny per day.

The whole of the cavalry are dressed in white, with collar, cuffs, and facings of different colours.

A list of the cavalry in the year 1798.

			OFFICERS.	Non-commissioned officers & privates.
Thirteen regiments, each consisting of three squadrons.	A Colonel	13	364	5382
	A Lieutenant Colonel	13		
	A Commandant of squadron	13		
	A Major	13		
	6 Captains	78		
	9 Lieutenants	117		
	9 Sub-lieutenants	117		
	414 Non-commissioned officers and privates	5382		
Two regiments consisting of four squadrons each.	A Colonel	2	74	1104
	A Lieutenant-Colonel	2		
	2 Commandants of squadrons	4		
	A Major	2		
	8 Captains	16		
	12 Lieutenants	24		
	12 Sub-lieutenants	24		
	552 Non-commissioned officers and privates	1104		
			438	6486
			6924	

Since the above period the cavalry have been reduced to twelve regiments, each mustering five hundred men, forming five squadrons including a total of six thousand horse.

Dragoons.

The formation of dragoons was changed in the year 1792. The regiments previously consisted of

four squadrons, which were then changed to three; the number of soldiers was reduced nearly a fourth, and that of the officers also diminished. These eight regiments, which are known under the denomination of the *King's*, the *Queen's*, the *Almanzan*, the *Pavian*, the *Villa-Viciosan*, the *Saguntian*, the *Numancian* and the *Lusitanian*. Every regiment consists of three squadrons, each squadron of three troops, and to each troop is attached a captain, lieutenant, a sub-lieutenant or cornet, and sixty-two non-commissioned officers and privates; every regiment has a colonel and lieutenant-colonel and major, each of whom commands a squadron. The pay is the same with the cavalry.

The uniform of the dragoons is yellow, the collar, cuffs, facings, lining and waistcoat of divers colours.

List of dragoons in the year 1798.

Eight regiments, each having a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, nine captains, nine lieutenants, nine sub-lieutenants or cornets, and five hundred and fifty-two non-commissioned officers and privates. Total amount of the eight regiments, four thousand six hundred and thirty-six men.

Since that period the eight regiments have each been made to consist of five squadrons, like those of the cavalry, but without increasing their number, each squadron including now but one hundred men.

Light cavalry.

Spain has four regiments of light cavalry, divided into five squadrons each, whose formation is similar

milar to that of the dragoons; viz. two regiments of chasseurs, those of *Olivencia*, and the *Spanish volunteers*. The uniform is green with red cuffs and collars. Two regiments of hussars, whose uniform is sky-blue; they bear the name of *Maria-Louisa*, and Spanish hussars, and form together with the dragoons six thousand light cavalry.

The whole of the cavalry in 1803 amounted to 12000 men.

Infantry of the line.

The infantry of the line is composed of native and foreign infantry, the militia, invalid corps, artillery, and engineers.

The Spanish infantry experienced considerable changes in 1791, and large augmentations in the three succeeding years. The original formation of both native and foreign foot forces was the same, but at present it is very different.

The former now comprises thirty-eight regiments, bearing the distinguishing appellations, regiment of the *King*, of the *Queen*, of the *Princess*, of *Ceuta*, of *Malaga*, of *Savoy*, of the *crown of Africa*, of *Zamora*, of *Soria*, of *Cordova*, of *Guadalaxara*, of *Seville*, of *Granada*, of *Valencia*, of *Saragossa*, of *Spain*, of *Toledo*, of *Majorca*, of *Burgos*, of *Murcia*, of *Leon*, of *Cantabria*, of the *Asturias*, of *Navarre*, of *Aragon*, of *America*, of *Estremadura*, of *Jaen*, of *state volunteers*, of *military orders*; of *volunteers of Castile*; of *volunteers of the*

crown, of *Bourbon*, of *Ireland*, of *Hibernia*, and of *Ultonia;* the last three were composed intirely of Irish, but they are now incorporated with the native infantry.

Light Infantry.

The Spanish light infantry includes twelve battalions, consisting of seven hundred men each, but when on the war establishment of one thousand, and are thus denominated; the first of Aragon, the first of Catalonia, the twelfth of Aragon, the twelfth of Catalonia, of Tarragona, of Gironna, the first of Barcelona, the chasseurs of Barbastro, the volunteers of Valencia, of Campo-mayor, and of Navarre.

The regiment of Ceuta is raised for the defence of that place, and its establishment is similar to the Spanish regiments.

The thirty-eight regiments in the year 1798, consisted of three battalions each, two field, and one garrison battalion, and the latter was generally quartered in the part of the kingdom after which it was named, and kept for the purpose of recruiting the former two. Each regiment had a colonel, who commanded the first battalion, a lieutenant-colonel who commanded the second, a commandant of battalion who commanded the third, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and a major. The two field battalions consisted of a grenadier, and four fusilier companies. Each grenadier company had a captain, lieutenant, a sub-lieutenant, two

two serjeants, six corporals, fifty-four privates, and a drummer. Each company of fusileers had a captain, a first-lieutenant, with the rank of captain, a lieutenant en-second, a sub-lieutenant, four serjeants, ten corporals, one hundred and three privates, and three drummers.

The cadets are the ensigns, or standard-bearers.

Since the changes which have been made as to the mode of forming these thirty-eight regiments, they have still been composed of three battalions, but the battalion has consisted of only four companies, the grenadiers having coalesced with the fusiliers; each company consists of eighty-four men, of which number sixty are fusiliers; the battalion of three hundred and thirty-six; and every regiment of one thousand and eight.

The pay of the officers and soldiers is fixed at the following sums per month.

Pay of the Infantry.

	Reals de vellon.	Livres tournois.	Money sterling.
A colonel	reals marav.	l. s. d.	l. s. d.
A lieutenant-colonel			
A major			
A commandant of a third battalion	1000	250	10 8 4
A captain of grenadiers	800	200	8 6 8
Captains in general	700	175	7 5 10
A lieutenant of grenadiers	480	120	5 0 0
A first lieutenant	400	100	4 3 4
A lieutenant en-second	320	85	3 10 10
A sub-lieutenant	250	62 10	2 12 1
A serjeant of grenadiers per diem			
A corporal of grenadiers per diem			
A private grenadier per diem			
A serjeant of fusiliers per diem			
A corporal of fusiliers per diem			
A private fusilier per diem	1 10		3½
A drummer per diem		6 6	

The foreign infantry was composed of twelve regiments; three walloon, called the *little walloons*, bearing the discriminating appellations of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and *Brussels*; three Irish, viz. the regiment of *Ireland*, *Hibernia*, and *Ultonia;* two Italian, viz. the regiment of *Naples*, and of *Milan*; and four Swiss regiments, bearing the names of their respective commanders. The Little Walloon, and the Milan regiments have been new-formed, the three Irish regiments have been incorporated with the Spanish infantry, and the Swiss have been augmented to six regiments. At the present time there are the regiment of Naples, and six Swiss regiments, bearing the denominations of *Wimpffen*, *Traxler*, *Preux*, *Reding*, first and second, and *Betschart*, which are the names of their respective colonels. The Neapolitan regiment consists of three battalions, and has the same appointments as the other Spanish regiments. Each of the Swiss regiments consists of two battalions, and the battalion includes one company of grenadiers, and eight companies of fusiliers: to each company is attached a captain, a lieutenant, a sub-lieutenant, and seventy-seven non-commissioned officers and privates. Every regiment is commanded by a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, and a major; the two former officers have each a company. The management of these regiments is entirely different from the Spanish; it is wholly in the hands of the officers, particularly the heads of the respective corps; the

business

business of each company is transacted by the captain.

The pay of the officers by the month, and of the non-commissioned officers and privates by the day, is as follows:

	Reals de vellon.	Livres tournois.	Money sterling.	For a Servant.			Total.		
				Reals de vellon.	Livres tournois.	Money sterling.	Reals de vellon.	Livres tournois.	Money sterling.
	R. M.	l. s. d.	l. s. d.	R. M.	l. s. d.	l. s. d.	R. M.	l. s. d.	l. s. d.
A colonel									
A lieutenant-colonel									
A major.....									
A captain of grenadiers	600	150	6 5 0						
A captain in general	500	125	5 4 2						
A lieutenant of grenadiers... ..	400	100	4 3 4	21	5 5 0	0 4 4½	421	105 5 0	4 7 8½
A lieutenant in general	300	75	3 2 6	21	5 6 0	0 4 4½	321	80 5 0	3 6 10½
A sub lieutenant of grenadiers..	290	72 10	0 3 0 5	11	2 15 0	0 2 3½	301	75 5 0	3 2 8½
A sub-lieutenant in general	250	62 10	0 2 11 11	11	2 15 0	0 2 3½	261	65 5 0	2 14 4½
A serjeant.....									
A corporal.....									
A private	1 10	— 6	0 0 3½						

The militia is distinguished by the appellations of *milices provinciales*, and *milices urbanas*, that is, provincial and civic or local militia.

The *provincial militia* is divided into forty-two battalions, and distributed though the different provinces, each assuming the name of the province, or one of the chief cities, in which it is stationed. Every battalion has a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, a major, a company of grenadiers, a company of light infantry, and six companies of fusiliers; to each company is attached a captain, a lieutenant, a sub-lieutenant, and sixty-five men, including serjeants, corporals, and privates; the militia is not in actual service, but the officers and soldiers remain at their respective homes, ready for being called out upon duty. They assemble annually, for the purpose of being drilled, in the principal city of the department to which they belong, and remain embodied twenty days; but they are liable, at an hour's notice, to march for a campaign, or to do garrison duty. Their pay is the same as that of the infantry of the line, but they only receive it the twenty days of drilling, or when called out into actual service; but the officers of the grenadier and light infantry companies are kept in pay. It is only in the provinces belonging to the crown of Castile that the militias are raised; those belonging to the crown of Aragon are not subject to these levies; that is to say,

say, Aragon, Catalonia, and the kingdom of Valencia.

The *milices urbanas*, or civic militia, neither receive pay, nor are liable to be called away from their homes. Their province is the defence of the respective places to which they belong; they choose their own officers, and most of them have peculiar commandants. This corps consists of one hundred and twenty-one companies, stationed thus: nine at port Santa Maria, fourteen at the camp of Gibraltar, four at Carthagena, five at Ceuta, fourteen at Badajoz, eight at Albuquerque, six at Alcantara, seven at Valencia and Alcantara, twelve at Coruña, six at Ciudad Rodrigo, four at Tarifa, one at Rosas, one at Aragon, ten on the coast of Granada, and twenty at Cadiz.

The invalids are divided into two classes, or corps, the one *habiles*, that is, composed of effective men, fit for service not very arduous; and *inhabiles*, that is, such as are disqualified for any service. The first consists of forty-five companies, distributed through the different provinces, and twenty-six of the second stationed at Seville, Lugo, Toro, and San Felipe. The former have two commandants, one holding the command at Madrid, and the other at Valencia; the latter have four, one in each department, and a major.

The artillery, since the new arrangements, comprises five regiments of twelve companies each; to every regiment is attached two companies of light artillery.

artillery. Three of these regiments, in time of peace, are twelve hundred strong, but the other two consist only of nine hundred. On the war establishment they are augmented to the same number with the three former; they have nearly three hundred officers of different ranks.

The corps of engineers is commanded by ten officers, called directors, whose rank is equal to that of colonel; ten principals, or chief engineers, with equal rank; twenty others, with that of lieutenant-colonel; thirty ordinary engineers, with the rank of captain; thirty engineers extraordinary, with the rank of lieutenant; and forty assistant-engineers, with that of sub-lieutenant. To this corps belongs a regiment of sappers and miners, consisting of two battalions, including together 1400 men.

In the year 1796 a new corps of engineers was formed under the title of *state cosmographers*, composed of captains, lieutenants, and cadets.

Another corps was established in the year 1792, denominated the company of *New Castile*, designed as a police band, for pursuing smugglers, and other delinquents in the vicinity of Madrid, the royal palaces, and the district of the Tagus. This is commanded by a captain, and consists of one hundred foot and thirty horse soldiers.

All the regiments of Spanish infantry, and that of Naples, are clothed in white, with the collars, cuffs, and facings, of divers colours, and the names

names of the regiments are affixed on the buttons. The regiments of the national or state volunteers, and Bourbon only, have a blue uniform. The volunteers of Tarragona, Gironna, Valencia, Aragon, Catalonia, Barcelona, and the chasseurs of Barbastro, have a dress either of a deep blue, or bottle green, for the officers; and light grey, marone or blue, for the privates. These have only a close coat as an uniform, over which they wear a loose short coat, like a great or riding coat, called a *gambeto.*

The Swiss infantry are clothed in blue, with the collar, cuffs, and facings of different colours.

The uniforms of the militias are all blue: the provincial militia have white waistcoats and breeches, and the cuffs, collar, and facings of their coats are red, with the name of the principal city of their province upon the buttons. The civic militia have the collar, cuffs, and waistcoat of various colours, and some wear black velvet collars. The militia of Alcantara alone has a white uniform.

The stationary, or local companies, are also clothed in blue.

The artillery have blue coats, with the collar, cuffs, and waistcoat red; and the dress of the officers is trimmed with gold lace.

The engineers' is similar to the uniform of the artillery, except that the trimmings are of silver lace.

The state cosmographers wear green coats, with the

the collar, cuffs, facings, waistcoat and breeches, red.

The invalids have the coat and breeches blue, and the cuffs, collar, and facings red.

To this general statement of the army should be added four regiments of provincial grenadiers, forming one battalion, each regiment consisting of seven hundred men; and the staff and garrisons of the different fortified places.

General list of Spanish infantry in 1798.

			Officers.	Non-commissioned Officers & Soldiers.	Total of Officers.	Total of Non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers.	Total.
Spanish Infantry.	38 regts. of three battalions each.	1 colonel	38		2210	59,538	61,748
		1 lieutenant-colonel	38				
		1 commandant of battl.	38				
		1 major	38				
		14 captains	532				
		2 lieutenants of grenad.	76				
		12 first lieutenants	456				
		12 lieutenants en-second	456				
		14 sub-lieutenants	532				
		1566 non-commissioned officers and privates		59,538			
	10 regts. of one battalion each.	1 commandant	10		280	6930	7210
		1 major	10				
		8 captains	80				
		9 lieutenants	90				
		9 sub-lieutenants	90				
		6930 non-commissioned officers and privates		6930			
Foreign Infantry.	1 Italian regt.	officers	58		388	9169	9,557
		non-commissioned officers and privates		1536			
	6 Swiss regts.	officers	330				
		non-commissioned officers and privates		7658			
					2878	75637	78515

Militias.

			Officers.	Non-commissioned officers and soldiers.	Total of Officers.	Total of Non-commissioned officers and Soldiers.	Total.
		Brought over.....			2878	75637	78515
Militias	Provincial. 42 battalions each.	1 colonel	42				
		1 lieutenant-colonel	42				
		1 major	42				
		10 captains	420		1470		35810
		10 lieutenants	420				
		10 sub-lieutenants	420				
		770 non-commissioned officers and privates		34340		34340	
	Civic. 120 companies each.	1 captain	121				
		1 lieutenant	121		363		9680
		1 sub-lieutenant	121				
		77 non-commissioned officers and privates		9317		9317	
Invalids.	45 companies of able, each	commandants	2				
		1 captain	45				
		1 lieutenant	45		137		3287
		1 sub-lieutenant	45				
		70 non-commissioned officers and privates		3150		3150	
	26 companies of disabled, each,	commandants	4				
		1 captain	26				
		1 lieutenant	26		82		1902
		1 sub-lieutenant	26				
		70 non-commissioned officers and privates		1820		1820	
Artillery.	Officers.	colonels	17				
		lieutenant-colonels	17				
		major	1				
		captains	80		404		4804
		lieutenants	80				
		sub-lieutenants	103				
		gentlemen cadets	100				
	Non-commissioned officers and privates.	4 battalions, consisting of 7 companies		2800			
		2 battalions of six companies		1200		4400	
		1 provincial company		100			
		3 companies of invalids		300			
Engineers.		directors	10				
		colonels, chiefs	10				
		lieutenant-cols. chiefs	20		150		150
		captains	30				
		lieutenants	40				
		sub-lieutenants	40				
		Total..			5484	128664	134148

A general

A general list of the land forces in the year 1798.

		Officers.	Guards. Non-commissioned Officers and Privates.	Total.
Army staff		701	.....	701
Establishment of the royal household		491	10,041	10,532
Cavalry		837	6,486	7,323
Dragoons		240	4,416	4,656
Hussars		28	414	442
Infantry.	Spanish infanty	2472	64,872	67,344
	Foreign ditto	388	9,169	9,557
	Provincial militia	1428	32,340	33,768
	Civic or local ditto	363	9,317	9,680
	Effective or able invalids	137	3,150	3,287
	Ineffective or unable invalids	82	1,820	1,902
	Artillery	404	4,400	4,804
	Engineers	150	.....	150
	Total	7681	145,425	154,146

From this list, the Spanish army appears upon a large and respectable footing, but then a deduction must be made from its efficient strength, as follows.

The provincial militia only embodied in time of war . . .	33,768
The civic or local militia, which only do duty at the respective places where they are raised . . .	9,680
The invalids incapable of standing a campaign . . .	5,189
From the third battalions, belonging to thirty-eight regiments, which have only half their complement of men	11,160
Total	59,797

The

The number of forces is thus reduced to 74,163 men; but the provincial militia, to the amount of 35,816, being always kept in readiness to march, and act as troops of the line in time of war, extends the capable force of the Spanish army to 109,973 men.

The captains, lieutenants, and sub-lieutenants, are all distinguished by epaulets on their dress; the two latter have but one, the lieutenants wear them on the right shoulder, and the sub-lieutenants on the left; the captains have one on each. Lieutenant-colonels and majors wear none, but are discriminated by broad lace upon the cuffs of the coat; the dress of majors has one row, lieutenant-colonels two, and colonels three. Where the colonels are brigade officers, they wear above three rows of narrow lace, the distinguishing mark of brigadier rank.

General officers, when not in their uniforms, wear a red girdle with upright bands of gold embroidery, two or three inches broad; the field-marshals one, lieutenant-generals two, captain-generals three. The cadets are clothed like the private soldiers, except that they are distinguished by an aiguilette of gold or silver lace upon the shoulder, by the buckles and sword of silver, or gilt metal, to answer the uniform, and by their dress being made of finer cloth; the aiguilettes, or shoulder knots, are called in Spanish *cordones* *.

* The *cordon*, or aiguilette, differs from the epaulette,

The

The Spanish troops all wear a red cockade, except the Walloon and Swiss guards; the former of which is red and black, and the latter red and yellow.

The royal marine department.

The royal department of the marine comprises naval forces, sailors, and marines, the naval administration, and the management of the different branches, as shipping, arsenals, hospitals, &c. &c.

Naval forces.

The naval forces of Spain consist of a marine staff, a corps of marine officers, a corps of naval cadet-guards, and three corps of engineers, artillery, and infantry, appropriated entirely to the service of the navy.

The staff comprises general officers, divided into four classes, captain-generals, lieutenant-generals, commanders of fleets, and commodores or commanders of squadrons, which answer to captain-generals, lieutenant-generals, field-marshals, and brigadier-generals in the land service.

The corps of naval officers is composed of six classes or gradations in rank, viz. captain of a ship, captain of a frigate, lieutenant of a ship, lieutenant of a frigate, sub-lieutenant of a ship,

and is formed of a broad band or strap of silver or gold lace, on the shoulder part of the habit, with very short fringe at the end.—T.

sub-

sub-lieutenant of a frigate. The number of these is indefinite, and is continually varying as to circumstances and promotions.

The corps of cadet-guards includes three companies, one for each naval station, Ferrol, Cadiz, and Carthagena. Each company has a captain, lieutenant, sub-lieutenant, and two assistant majors, who are elected out of the corps of naval officers, and one hundred cadets, of whom four are brigadiers, and four sub-brigadiers. The cadets succeed to rank as officers by seniority.

A particular corps of engineers is attached to the naval establishment, composed of directors, and different classes of engineers, all of whom have naval rank. The directors, or chief engineers, rank as captains of ships; the engineers en second as captains of frigates; the common engineers as lieutenants of ships; the engineers extraordinary as sub-lieutenants of ships; assistant engineers as sub-lieutenants of frigates. This corps is commanded by a director-general, who always holds the rank of a general officer.

Attached to the navy is a corps of artillery, consisting of sixteen brigades, distributed in the three naval stations; six at Cadiz, six at Ferrol, and four at Carthagena. In each of these places is a staff, composed of a captain commissary general de vaisseau, of a captain major de fregate, and two ordinary lieutenant commissaries de fregate. Each

brigade has a first chief, a second chief, a lieutenant, a sub-lieutenant, a greater or less number of bombarding captains and lieutenants, of firing captains and lieutenants, eight marshals, sixteen corporals, sixteen bombardiers, forty-eight cannoniers, sixty-four assistants, eight attendants, and two drummers.

The naval infantry, or marines, form twelve battalions, distributed in the three stations, in each of which is a staff, composed of two commanders and an inspector, who are general officers, and a major captain de fregate. Every battalion has a particular commandant, two assistant majors, and six companies; to each company are two captains, one lieutenant, one sub-lieutenant, and one hundred and sixty-eight non-commissioned officers and privates. The officers are all appointed from the corps of naval officers.

List

List of naval forces in the year 1798.

			Officers.	Non-commis. Officers and Privates.	Total.
General Officers.	Captains-general	2	119		119
	Lieutenants-general	24			
	Commanders of fleets	41			
	Commodores or commanders of squadrons	52			
Naval Officers.	Captains de vaisseaux	118	1312		1312
	Ditto de fregate	175			
	Lieutenants de vaisseaux	251			
	Ditto de fregate	233			
	Sub-lieutenant de vaisseaux	231			
	Ditto de fregate	304			
Naval Cadet-guards			308		308
Engineers.	Chief directors	5	39		39
	Engineers en-second	8			
	Ordinary engineers	11			
	Extraordinary engineers	5			
	Assistant engineers	10			
Artillery.	Captains of fire ships	6	96	2582	2678
	Ditto of bomb vessels	8			
	Lieutenants of fire ships	10			
	Ditto of bomb vessels	8			
	In every brigade:				
	2 chiefs	32			
	a lieutenant	16			
	a sub-lieutenant	16			
	8 marshals	128			
	16 corporals	256			
	16 bombardiers	256			
	48 cannoniers	768			
	64 assistants	1014			
	8 probationers	128			
	2 drummers	32			
Infantry.	12 battalions of 6 companies in each	168 non-commissioned officers and privates to each company		12096	12096
			1874	14678	16552

The naval administration.

The Spanish naval administration comprises all the commissioners, superintendants, clerks, &c. belonging to the various marine departments, which may be divided into nine classes. the *naval*

inspectors, one to each of the three naval depôts, who are usually general officers of the marines; the *chief comptrollers*; the *treasurers*, two at each station: the *ordinary commissaries*, whose number varies; the *ordinary war commissaries*, the number of which is also indefinite; the *provincial commissaries*; their *deputies*, and those employed in the subordinate offices of administration, divided into two ranks, first and second; the *auditors of war*, distributed through the different subordinate delegations in the department; the *comptrollers of shipping*, called *contadores de vaisseau* and *contadores de fregate*; and *supernumerary officials*. The duty attached to these officers is much the same as that incumbent on those bearing the same distinctions in the land-forces.

List of the naval administration in 1792.

	At Cadiz.	At Ferrol.	At Cartha-gena.	Total.
Naval inspectors . .	1	1	1	3
Chief comptrollers .	1	1	1	3
Treasurers . .	2	2	2	6
Ordinary commissaries .				6
Ordinary commissaries of war . .				32
Provincial commissaries .				36
First deputies, or officials .	25	21	23	69
Second deputies, or officials	27	29	26	82
Auditors of war . .				31
Comptrollers de vaisseau .	20	28	24	72
Comptrollers de fregate .	20	14	18	52
Supernumerary officials .	26	27	25	78
Total . .				470

A con-

A considerable number of clerks and inferior persons employed are not included in the preceding list.

Sea service and ports.

The sea service comprises all persons employed about the shipping, who may be divided in two descriptions; those actually employed, and those intended as a reserve to replace the former, or to form an additional force, when the service may demand their assistance. The first includes port captains, pilots, branch pilots, coasting pilots, port pilots, seamen, and boys; the second answers to what in France are known under the denomination of *classes*, comprehending a number of persons distributed over the country, but especially on the sea-coast, who are enrolled and classified, preparatory to their being called out, when occasion may require. The port captains are stationed at the different ports, to the number of thirty-three, and are all naval officers, lieutenants and sub-lieutenants de vaisseau and de fregate. The pilots, branch pilots, coasting pilots, and port pilots, constitute a particular body, whose commander resides at Cadiz, and it has a staff composed of a director and two assistant majors. The pilots are divided into two classes; those of the first obtain the rank of naval officers, those of the second succeed by seniority, or merit, to the first; the branch pilots become pilots of the se-

cond order; the coasting and port pilots are destined to give assistance and direction to all vessels wanting such aid.

The number of seamen and boys is very great, but, as it is continually varying, it is impossible to state the exact number.

The second class forms a particular administration: each of the three stations is divided into three departments, the business of which is conducted under the superintendence of a provincial or war commissary, or some other principal officer, who receives the appellation of minister, and, together with a recorder or council and subordinate officers, constitutes a court for taking cognizance of all affairs relative to the registered seamen. Each department is again subdivided into smaller portions, superintended by proper delegates. The naval establishment at Cadiz includes nine of these departments, Ferrol eleven, and Carthagena ten. The registered seamen are distributed or apportioned to the smaller divisions, and they remain at their own homes, but are subject to be summoned and employed at a moment's notice.

List of persons employed, or liable to be so, in the naval service of Spain, in the year 1792.

Pilots of the higher order.....	first class 113	238			464
	second class ... 125				
Branch pilots		176			
Coasting pilots } Port pilots .. }		50			

		Cadiz.	Ferrol.	Cartha-gena.	Total.	
Naval classes.	War commissaries..	3	5	1	9	63899
	Provincial ditto	2	2	2	6	
	Ministers	4	4	8	16	
	Recorders	9	11	9	29	
	Sub-delegates	26	31	41	98	
	Registered seamen ..	17323	19685	26733	63741	
	Total....					64363

Arsenal service.

Each of the three naval establishments, at Cadiz, Ferrol, and Carthagena, has an extensive arsenal, the works of which occupy a great number of persons. The whole of those employed in the different departments are under the orders of an inspector-general of marine and a general of engineers, both of whom are general officers. Every department has also three particular chiefs; one deputy inspector, whose office it is to superintend every branch of business carried on in the arsenal; a commandant, whose duty is attention to the police; a chief engineer, whose employment is directing every thing relating to the building, repairing,

careening, and refitting of ships, the making cordage, sails, erecting fortifications, and other buildings necessary for the defence of the dock-yards, or the accommodation of the persons employed. Each of these has under his command chief and subordinate officers, artizans, mechanics, and all kinds of workmen. The following list will furnish an idea of the nature and number of the establishment: —

List of persons employed in the arsenals.

		At Cadiz.	At Ferrol.	At Carthagena.	Total of the number employed.	Total of the three departments.
Chiefs.	Sub-inspectors	1	1	1	3	9
	Chief engineers	1	1	1	3	
	Commandants	1	1	1	3	
Principal Officers.	Assistant sub-inspectors	1	1	1	3	46
	Assistant commandants	1	1	1	3	
	Engineers en second	1	1	1	3	
	Engineers in ordinary	4	1	3	8	
	Ditto extraordinary	1	1	3	5	
	Ditto assistants	1	1	2	4	
	Commissaries of stores	1	1	1	3	
	Ditto of building	1	1	1	3	
	Contaduria	3	1	1	5	
	Guards to the magazines	3	3	3	9	
Officers and subordinate Persons employed.	Subalterns under the inspector	2	3	2	7	661
	Ditto ditto the commandant	9	9	4	22	
	Officers attached to the engineers	6	4		10	
	Assistant builders	2	3		5	
	Masters' mates belonging to the engineers	2			2	
	Mates in general	33	92	78	203	
	Persons employed in careening	4	51	55	110	
	Common subalterns of the stores	5	5	4	14	
	Ditto of the yards	13	12	9	34	
	Guardians	43	123	88	254	
						Artizans.

		At Cadiz.	At Ferrol.	At Cartha-gena.	Total em-ployed.	Total in every department.
Artizans.	Hewers of wood	11	4	3	18	119
	Carvers	10	4	5	19	
	Painters	12	42	11	65	
	Nautical instrument makers	4	3	2	9	
	Workers in talc for windows	4	4		8	
Mechanics.	Ship carpenters and assistants	841	1247	1243	3331	11043
	Caulkers	731	698	602	2029	
	Ship joiners	54	243	72	369	
	Makers of pulleys and buoys	44	49	85	178	
	Makers of models	4	11	20	35	
	Lamp-makers	8	13	21	42	
	Smiths, forgers and casters	93	281	126	500	
	Pump-makers	26		28	54	
	Coopers	26	4	23	53	
	Sawyers	46	154	208	408	
	Masons	105	97		202	
	Armourers	16	19	45	80	
	Stowers of cordage	103	74		177	
	Ditto of the sails	47	89	154	290	
	Makers of cordage	316	334	316	966	
	Ditto of sail-cloth	355	491	413	1259	
Persons employed in the naval department.	Launchers	3	16	3	22	1881
	Marine artillery	200			200	
	Seamen	200	593	379	1172	
	Cabin or ship boys	300	16	171	487	
Common labourers.	Moorish slaves			100	100	6493
	Fire-teasers			25	25	
	Scavengers		92		92	
	Attendants on the reverbe-ratory furnaces		57		57	
	Servants of the police	95	70	58	223	
	Guards	1340	844	2206	4390	
	Day-labourers	377	1238		1615	
	Total					20257

Naval

Naval hospitals.

Each of the three naval depots or stations has the establishment of an hospital, with numerous appointments.

		Cadiz.	Ferrol	Carthagena	Total.
Physicians.	Physician general to the navy	1			11
	Chief hospital physicians.		1	1	
	Physicians in ordinary.	5	1	2	
Surgeons.	Surgeon-major to the fleet	1	.....	.....	127
	Assistant surgeons major	6	1	1	
	Surgeons first and second	43	43	32	
Apothecaries.	.....	2	2	2	6
Masters	Of medicine	1	.....	1	4
	Of botany	1	.....	1	
Librarian	.....	1	.....	.....	1
Pupils	Educated at the king's expence	78	.....	.....	78
	TOTAL				227

General list of the Spanish naval forces.

	Officers and cadets.	Non-commissioned officers, soldiers, & seamen.	Persons employed.	Total.
Forces	1,742	14,678		16,420
Marine administration			455	455
In the shipping and port service			64,363	64,363
In the service of the arsenals	9		20,188	20,197
In the hospital service			227	227
TOTAL				101,662

General state of the shipping in the year 1793.

70 Ships of the line carrying from 112 to 54 guns.
46 Frigates from 42 to 18.
3 Corvettes from 20 to 18.
16 Xebecks from 36 to 14.
13 Bylanders from 20 to 10.

28 Bri-

28 Brigantines from 24 to 10.
12 Ourques from 40 to 20.
4 Gallies of 3.
4 Galliots of 3.
3 Bomb-vessels of 10.
8 Packet-boats.
7 Goelettes.
2 Fireships.

Forming a total of 216 ships of war.

Military division of Spain.

Spain is divided into eleven grand military departments or districts, viz. Old Castile, Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia and Murcia, Navarre, Guipuzcoa, Andalusia, the coast of Granada, Galicia, Estremadura, and Madrid; which latter, though a particular government, is similar to the other grand military governments. The governments now to be described are confined to the continent of Spain.

The governors of provinces have the chief military command; they preside in the supreme courts, have the management of the police, and assume the title of captain generals, to which the governor of Navarre adds that of viceroy.

Every grand military government comprises several smaller divisions, which are confined to particular places, and have an appointment of a larger or smaller staff.

That of Old Castile consists of a governor, a royal

royal lieutenant, a major, stationed at Zamora; a similar staff is placed at Ciudad-Rodrigo; a governor and major at Sanabria, a governor to the four cities on the coast of Sant Andero; one to each of the places, Puenta de la Conception, San Felices, and Fermosella; and to the castles of Trevejo and San Carlos.

In Aragon there is a royal lieutenant and major at Saragossa; a governor-royal lieutenant, and major at Jaca; a governor and major at Monzon; a governor to each of the castles, of Aljaferia, near Saragossa, of the Col de Ladrones and Benasque; and a governor for the district of Alcantara, at Alkañiz.

Catalonia has a staff, consisting of a governor, a royal lieutenant, and a major at the citadel of Barcelona; Tarragona, Tortosa, Lerida, Gironna, Urgel, and Rosas: a governor and major at Hostalric, Cardonna, Berga; and at the castle of Monjuy near Barcelona; a governor at each of the castles of Tortosa; Trinity, and Monjuy near Gironna; one at the tower of Salon, and of San Jean, at the Col de Belaguer; one at each of the forts, Connetable and Saint-George; and one at each of the following places, Puycerda, Castel-Leon, Vich, Cervera, and Mataro.

The government of Valencia and Murcia consists of a governor, royal lieutenant, and a major at these respective places, Peniscola, Denia, Alicant, and Carthagena; a royal lieutenant, a major, and

and two assistant majors at Valencia: a governor of the castle in that city, a governor to each of the castles at Alicant, Santa Pola, and las Aquilas; one at Grao, and one for the district of Sant James at Cieza.

Navarre has a governor, a royal lieutenant, and major at Pampeluna; a royal lieutenant and major at the castle in that city.

The government of Guipuzcoa consists of a governor, a royal lieutenant, and major, stationed at Fonterabia, and San Sebastian; and a governor at the fortress Santa Isabel del Passage, and one at each of the castles of Mota and Yguez.

Andalusia has a governor, royal lieutenant, and major at Cadiz; a governor and major at Ayamont; a commandant, and major at the camp near Gibralter; and a governor at each of the following places, Fort Luis, San Lucar de Barameda, Port de Santa Maria, Martos, San Lucar-Guadiana, Payenago, Tarifa; and at each of the castles of Malagorda, San Sebastian, Puntal, San Pedro, Espiritu Santo, Santa Catalina and Puebla de Guzman.

The government of the Garnadian coast includes a governor, a royal lieutenant, and major at Malaga; a governor at the castle of San Joseph, one at the fort of San Luis de Martella, one at Alhambra de Granada, one at Almeria, one at Cabo-de-Gata, and one at Metril.

The

The Galician government consists of a peculiar commandant for the province of Tuy; of a govenor, royal lieutenant, and major at Coruña; a governor and major at Ferrol; a governor at Bayona, Salvatierra, Goyan, Monterey; and one at each of the forts of San Martin de la Palma, San Philip, San Crux, San Diego, and San Antonio.

Estremadura has a governor, royal lieutenant, and major at each of the subjoined places, Badajoz, Alcantara, Albuquerque; a governor and major at Valencia de Alcantara; a governor at fort San Christoval; another at the castle of Alcanchel; and one at each of the cities of Merida, Llerena, Villanueva de la Serena, Gata, and Xeres de los Cavalleros: the governors of Merida, Xerez, are for the district of San James, and those of Gata and Alcantara for that bearing the latter name.

The government of Madrid has one major in the city, and in the surrounding district three governors for the command of San James, one stationed at Ocaña, another at Almagro, and a third at Los Infantes.

Most of these governors possess both civil and military power, and preside in the municipalities.

The three naval depots, or stations, constitute three great military governments, each of which consists of a captain general, a major, and a number, more or less, of assistant majors.

Military

Military tribunals.

The Spanish military are not amenable before the ordinary courts of justice; but are subject only to be summoned before military tribunals. Every regiment holds a court-martial, which hears and decides upon the offences of its officers or soldiers; but where the sentence affects the life of the criminal, it cannot be executed without the king's approbation, or that of his viceroy, the captain general of the province. In civil and personal matters the military advocates are the judges, and give judgment without the aid of the officers.

The regiments of Spanish and Walloon guards acknowledge no other judges in civil matters, where either officers or soldiers are the defendants, than their colonels: but these officers are assisted by a regular recorder: and all appeals from their judgments must be made to the throne.

The captains of the four companies of life-guards exercise the same kind of jurisdiction by virtue of a privilege, granted them the 3d of November, in the year 1718, by Philip the Fifth. They sit as judges upon the privates and subalterns of their respective companies in both civil and military affairs; except in cases of meetings of creditors, making dividends, succession to entailed property, which cases are subject to the cognizance of the ordinary courts of law. They cannot, however, pass sentence nor give a decision without the assistanec

sistance of a regular recorder, nor execute them without the royal approbation; and all appeals must be made direct to the king.

A superior tribunal sits at Madrid, under the denomination of "the supreme military council:" the president is the secretary of state for the war-department, and the court consists of an indefinite number of other members, all the inspecting generals being permanent members. It has a chancellor, or attorney-general, who must have been bred a lawyer, four assistant chancellors, an alguasil mayor, and three secretaries. It is divided into two departments or halls, one of administration, and one of justice. The former takes cognizance of every thing relative to offensive and defensive warfare, the levying troops, military promotion, nomination to service by sea and land, naval forces, the building and fitting out ships, provisions and stores, ordnance and ammunition, fortifications, wrecks, appointment of consuls, and whatever respects the privileges of persons holding any military jurisdiction. The hall or court of justice hears and decides in all causes brought before it, as offences committed upon the high seas, whether by Spaniards or foreigners, the inventories and disposal of the property of such persons after death, the appeals from the sentences of naval inspectors against the registered seamen, or other parties connected with the marine.

This council forms at the same time a tribunal, and

and a constituent body of permanent administration: and its powers were still more extensive previous to the reign of Philip the Fifth; for it nominated then to the highest situations in the military departments; but the kings during the subsequent dynasty resumed this important privilege themselves, appointing to every kind of rank simply upon the statement of the regimental inspectors, without consulting the supreme military council, whose interference they had learned to prevent or disannul. This power of military jurisdiction is not confined to officers and soldiers in the army and navy on actual service; but even extends to those retired with leave from the service, to seamen in pay, to all who may be employed in business which relates to the army or navy; having the appointment of agents and treasurers, to their widows, to those of officers and soldiers during the widowhood, and to the soldiers of the militia: with respect to the last its power is confined to criminal matters. Cases, however, occur where all these privileges become subject to the jurisdiction of the civil judges, and the following are such: all crimes committed in commercial affairs and in government transactions; every theft at court, prohibited games, duelling, fornication, and other debaucheries at court, resistance to the execution of justice, all capital offences, committed by persons previous to their entering into the service, and all committed by others after desertion.

Institutions established for the army and navy.

In Spain there are numerous establishments, some for objects connected with the navy, and others for such as relate to the army. The first comprise arsenals, manufactories of ordnance, ammunition, and cordage for the shipping; the last are military schools, and colleges for educating youth intended for the army, and beneficent institutions for officers' widows.

There are three military schools or colleges; one at Cadiz, one at Barcelona, and another at Zamora: in these are taught the principles of design, mathematics, engineering, and fortification. They are chiefly designed for the instruction of such youths as are intended for the engineering line; though young officers belonging to other kinds of troops, both infantry and cavalry, are admitted.

In the reign of Charles the Third, a school of artillery was established for the education of youth intended for that corps, at Segovia; and in this, by the appointment of able masters in the different branches of science, the education obtained is very complete.

The same monarch established a military school at Avila, but this has not proved equally successful.

The marine has also appropriate schools at the three naval stations of Cadiz, Ferrol, and Carthagena. Some are appointed for cadets, called ma-

rine

rine guards, in which only sons of gentlemen are admitted, others are established for the naval artillery. The former have masters in mathematics, physics, gunnery, and manœuvre; in the latter are taught drawing, mathematics, particularly such parts as are essential to the artillery and pyrotechnic service, fortification, statics, hydraulics, hydrostatics, and aerometry.

Nautical seminaries and schools of pilotage are distributed along the coast at Ferrol, Corunna, San Sebastian, Bilbao, Plasencia in Biscay, at Laredo, Cadiz, Seville, Machereviata, Carthagena, Arens del mar, Mataro, and Barcelona.

Founderies for casting brass cannon have been formed at Seville and at Barcelona, and factories for making fire-arms have been established at Oviedo, Igualada, Ripoli, Plasencia, and Helgoivar; factories of polished arms at Toledo; of ammunition, both of cast and forged iron, and of shells, balls and bullets at Fargadelos, and in the vicinity of Oviedo; of gunpowder at Murcia, Granada, near Alcazar de San Juan in la Mancha, Manresa, and other places in Catalonia and Aragon, particularly at Villafetiche, where are a hundred and seventy powder-mills at work; the forging anchors is carried on at Arens del Mar, Colella, Malgrat, San Pol, Heranni, and Arvazubia; factories for cordage and sailcloth are established at Ferrol, Cadiz, Carthagena, and Castello de la Plana,

Each of the three grand naval stations, it has been observed, has a fine arsenal, and two other admirable ones have been established at Seville and Barcelona.

The widows of all officers, from the captain up to the captain-general, are allowed pensions in proportion to the rank held by their respective husbands, providing, however, that the husbands had obtained the rank of captain previous to marriage, the wives of lieutenants not being entitled to pensions. The annual amount of them differs according to rank: widows of captain generals is 18,000 reals, 4,500 livres tournois (187*l.* 10*s.*); those of lieutenant-generals 12,000 reals, 3,000 livres (125*l*), &c. &c. &c These pensions are not paid by the state, they are drawn from different funds, the administration of which is conducted at Madrid under the name of the "mount of piety." These funds consist, in the first place, of a fund of 6,000 doubloons, 90,000 livres tournois (3,750*l.*), appropriated to the establishment. 2. The right to twenty per cent. granted by the king, from the *exploits* of bishops, and the revenues of vacant bishoprics. 3. A moiety of a month's pay from all the officers in the army, which is only paid at the time of promotion. 4. A detention of eight maravedis, one sol, two deniers tournois, $\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{2}{24}$, for every half crown of 10 reals, two livres, 10 sols (2*s.* 1*d.*), upon all military appointments. 5. By similar detention upon all military persons, promoted by

by the king. 6. By an uncertain sum arising from the succession of officers who die without natural heirs and intestate.

Observations upon the military constitution of Spain.

It will appear, from the preceding lists, that the Spanish infantry amounted nominally to about 134,000 men; but the provincial and local militias, corps of invalids, and the third battalions attached to each regiment, never being complete in their complement, occasioned a diminution nearly of 29,000, leaving the effective force little more than 104,000.

This infantry was not sufficient for the vast and extensive possessions of the Spanish monarchy, obliged as it continually was to send fresh supplies to the numerous garrisons in the American colonies. In the year 1776 it maintained thirty-two battalions out of Europe, and 35 in 1782. But since that time numerous defensive corps, troops of the line, both cavalry and infantry, have been raised in all the Spanish colonies, besides a number of militia; at present no further supplies are sent from the mother-country, whose infantry is scarcely adequate to the defence of the peninsula, and there still exists a necessity for supporting garrisons at the isles of Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica, the Canaries, and the two presidencies of Ceuta and Melilla. The cause of this inadequacy arises from

the natural repugnance experienced by the Spaniards to the military character; the government has at no time been able to complete a national regiment, the foreign regiments only, ever have their complement of men.

No person can arrive at the rank of an officer who has not previously served in the same regiment as a cadet. The number of cadets, both in the infantry and the cavalry, is indefinite, often very great. In the dragoons the number in each regiment is fixed at four. The result of this is, their promotion in the two former is so very slow, that they may sometimes remain cadets five or six years, while in the latter they obtain officers' rank in one, or at most two years; their election rests with the colonel of every regiment; but they must also be approved of by the inspecting generals.

Youths cannot be admitted as cadets before the age of sixteen years, and the parents or friends of the admitted cadet must grant him an allowance of two livres tournois (1*s.* 8*d.*) per day, while he continues in that situation; and one livre (10*d.*) when he obtains the rank of sub-lieutenant and lieutenant.

For admission as a cadet in the regiments of cavalry or dragoons, as well as the Spanish and Walloon guards, it is essentially requisite the candidate should exhibit proofs of his alliance with nobility. In the cavalry this is not always insisted on, but is rigidly adhered to in the dragoon regiments.

ments. Such proofs are not requisite in the infantry.

Serjeants are promised promotion among all the different forces, except the artillery, and the Spanish and Walloon guards. In most of the other corps half the situations of officers have been filled by serjeants; yet the colonel does not grant commissions to them but on every third vacancy, the other two being appropriated for cadets. This regulation produces zeal and emulation among the privates to become serjeants, and among serjeants to be promoted as officers: but Spanish haughtiness is frequently hurt by this plan of promotion, and numbers of the officers, who have been elected from cadets, after a short time quit the service, while those raised from serjeants never retire; consequently the regiments are commanded by officers principally who have arrived at that rank from serjeants, and the number amounts, in some instances, to a moiety, and in others to two-thirds.

This mixture disgusts the Spanish nobility, and gives them a reluctance for the service. They blush to see officers of mean birth become their equals, and sometimes their superiors. They possess the same kind of prejudice which the French had imbibed on such occasions previous to the revolution. But, for the cure of this malady, let them recollect that Europe has seen men rise from the humble ranks of the army, display a greatness of soul,

and elevation of sentiments, which are the principal incitements to military prowess, and the chief motives for every noble action; men, in a word, who have imperiously, by their talents, commanded victory.

If circumstances oblige the nobility to enter the army, they immediately leave it again as soon as they can find the desired objects in any other resources. At one period there were not four noblemen in all the troops of the Spanish monarchy. This reluctance is no longer visible; they often now volunteer into the army; but then they are rapidly promoted, and rise suddenly to the highest rank; while meritorious, old, and experienced officers, are left in subaltern situations, and to vegetate, as it were, in obscure garrisons.

The Spanish soldier passes the whole of his time in doing garrison duty. He cannot move from the place without a special grant for the purpose, and the leave of absence is generally of very confined extent, obtained with difficulty, and always with the loss of a moiety of his pay, and other emoluments. The large garrisons are ruinous, by the expensive mode of living, and other contingent circumstances; and those in the small towns and villages are irksome from the want of information, society, and those rational amusements, which tend to relieve the mind from ennui, and counterbalance the evils of life. In these the officers lead a dull monotonous round of melancholy

lancholy obscurity, they become stupified, lose all their energy and activity, and contract habits of apathy, and insociability, which have an unhappy and permanent influence upon their minds.

The common people feel the same disgust for the service; they are attached to home—they dread separation—have no relish for moving from place to place—possess neither that gaiety nor inconstancy which stimulate the lower classes in other countries to enlist into the army. Seldom do you find Spaniards, libertines; they are sober, and never given to inebriety. They are, however, good soldiers; they march when commanded, and seldom are wanting in valour when the occasion demands it. The repugnance they manifest for a military life is greater for the infantry service than the cavalry; and this difference is attributed to their partiality for the cloak or mantle which forms part of the dress of the latter, and not of the former. The foot soldier looks with a jealous eye upon the cavalier strutting about, clad in a comfortable cloak, and defying, as it were, the elements and his own nudity.

CHAP. IX.

STATE OF THE FINANCES.

List of the finances.

A LIST of the revenues of any sovereign or nation can in no instance be accurate, because it is impossible to procure exact information upon every article which forms their constituent parts. It is therefore only intended to give here a kind of general statement of those belonging to the crown of Spain, which will be founded upon particular information, obtained upon this subject, as it relates to continental Spain; more especially upon an authentic statement of the receipts and disbursements of the royal treasury for the year 1778; and upon an account of the same subject published by the minister of finance *Lerena*. With respect to the colonial revenues, the details published by two celebrated persons, occupied in the department, have been here followed, joined with the remarks communicated by M. le Baron de Humboldt*.

* The account here given of the finances is taken from their state previous to the war with France, and afterwards with England, both which wars have added to those urgent wants of government, that have obliged it to increase the old taxes, and levy additional burthens; but as the augmentations on the old, are only war taxes, which are to cease soon after the conclusion of a peace, they need not be described here.

Finances

Finances of the continent of Spain.

The revenues of the king of Spain, on the continent, consist in monies arising from his own landed estates, customs, all kinds of taxation, &c.

Landed revenues.

The territorial or landed revenues comprise the produce of certain crown lands, those of the grand masters of different military orders, certain tracts of pasturage belonging to the same, the *penas de camera*, mulcts or fines, the national lottery, and some other rights of minor consideration. It is difficult to ascertain the precise income arising from the royal domains. The right of pasturage of the Serena, in Estremadura, produced in the year 1778 340,237 reals, 22 maravedis, (3,585*l.* 16*s.* 1¼*d.*) In the subjoined list will be seen the whole amount of the other territorial income in the same year.

List of the territorial revenues in the year 1778.

	Reals de vellon.		Money sterling.		
	R.	M.	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Crown lands	.....		.....		
Pasturage of Serena	340,237	22	3,544	2	9
Grand masters	12,000,000	0	125,000	0	0
Pasturages belonging to the grand masters	1,294,117	22	13,563	14	6
Penas de Camera, fines	427,632	7	4,450	6	8¼
Effectos de Camera	711,030	8	1,406	11	3½
Fiados de escrivanas	132,276	16	1,377	17	7
National, or royal lottery	4,017,695	9	41,850	19	8
Total	18,922,989	16	191,193	12	6¾

Among

Among the territorial revenues may be reckoned the annual produce of the mines, which are worked on the king's account.

Three of the principal mines form a very important branch of revenue; one of lead, near Linarez in the kingdom of Jaen; one of antimony in the vicinity of Santa Cruz de Mudela, in la Mancha; and another of mercury and cinnabar in the latter province, at Almaden. The first is worked at a small expense, and furnishes annually about twelve thousand quintals of lead: the ore when analysed produces from sixty to seventy and eighty pounds of lead per quintal, and three quarters of an ounce of silver. The second contains abundance of rich ore, the mineral being almost in a pure state, and sometimes in the course of a day will be found lumps of metal weighing from two to three hundred pounds. The other mine is equally rich, one pound of ore often affording ten ounces of mercury.

Rights of Chancery.

The rights annexed to the court of chancery or exchequer include the droits arising from letters of naturalization, dispensations respecting age, impediments, and illegitimacy, letters patent for creating or restoring the rank of peerage, *media annata* upon all employments, offices, trusts, or situations of dignity which are filled by royal nomination; the *media annata* upon the admission of physicians,

sicians, counsellors, attornies, and notaries-public; *media annata* upon the grandees and titled people of Castile; and the duty called *lanzas*, upon the same privileged people.

Letters patent for the elevation of persons to the rank of nobility are subject to a fixed fine of forty thousand reals, ten thousand livres tournois, (466*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*)

Letters patent for the restoration of titles in abeyance are also subject to a fine, which varies from twenty thousand reals, five thousand livres tournois (208*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*), to forty thousand reals, ten thousand livres, (416*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*)

The *media annata*, upon employments, places, offices, preferments, &c. paid upon every occasion when an oath is administered, consists in a moiety of one year's appointment, salary, or emolument, payable in advance at the time of nomination or admission; for appointments to which are annexed neither salaries, perquisites, nor certain regular fees, a particular tariff is kept

Physicians, lawyers, notaries, and persons of several other professions pay a media annata upon their admission to their respective functions. The physicians and lawyers do not advance the media annata upon taking their degrees in the universities; but the physicians at the time when they are admitted to practice by the chief physician; and the lawyers when they are called to the bar. The fine for physicians is about one hundred and twelve reals, twenty-eight livres tournois, (1*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*)

The

The media annata upon the grandees and titled persons of Castile, is a fine which the king may levy upon all who succeed to rank or title, whether to that of marquis, earl, or viscount. Whoever succeeds to rank by marriage, inheritance, or parental right, and may have the title of duke, marquis, earl, viscount, or unites several of these titles, pays a fine equally for each to which he succeeds. The fine is moderate in the direct line, but is augmented in proportion as the distance increases in the collateral line.

The fine termed *lanzas* is annually paid to the king by all who bear the title of duke, marquis, earl, or viscount; some few of the most ancient and most modern excepted, who have obtained special dispensations. The fine is fixed at eight hundred ducats, two thousand two hundred livres tournois (93*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*), for every title of illustrious; three hundred ducats, eight hundred and twenty-five livres for every title of marquis and earl (34*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*); and eighteen hundred reals, four hundred and fifty livres (19*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*), for every title of viscount. Persons who have more titles, whether of the same or different rank, are obliged to pay this fine for every distinct title.

I have been unable to learn the sum arising from letters of naturalization, dispensations, patents for nobility and restoration of titles in abeyance, the *media annata* upon physicians, lawyers, &c. and therefore cannot give any accurate statement; but the

the produce of the other items will be given in the following list.

Produce of fines paid into the chancery or exchequer in 1778.

	Reals de vellon.	Money sterling.
	R. M.	L. s. d.
Letters of naturalization..... Letters of dispensation as to age, illegitimacy, or impediment..... Letters patent for noble rank..... Letters of restoring titles in abeyance..... *Media annata* paid by diver professions....	unknown	
Media annata upon titles in Castile in *Lanzas*..... 1778	5,400,000 0	56,250 0 0
Media annata upon employments, offices, places, &c.	1,625,206 26	17,971 0 6½
TOTAL	7,025,206 26	74,221 0 6½

Fines and taxes upon the clergy.

Some notice has been previously taken of the fines and taxes which the king receives from the clergy, and the time, form, and reason of their establishment; it will therefore be sufficient here to describe the produce, which is as follows.

The *mesada*, or one month's income of every benefice with or without the care of souls in the gift of the crown, the revenues of which amount to three hundred ducats, eight hundred and twenty-five livres tournois. (34*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*) payable only once by every incumbent at the time of his presentation.

The *media annata* or six months' income upon every benefice, canonry, or other dignity to which the king has the nomination; the revenues of which exceed three hundred ducats, eight hundred and twenty five livres tournois (34*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*), payable by every incumbent at the time of his institution.

The

The *quindennes*, or six months' produce of benefices belonging to schools, colleges, universities, hospitals, and other mortmain corporations, payable every fifteenth year.

The third of the annual income of deaneries, canonries, and dignities annexed to cathedrals and collegiate churches, also residentiary benefices, whether of royal or ecclesiastical patronage, with the exception of perpetual curacies; the revenues amount to six hundred ducats, one thousand six hundred and fifty livres tournois (68*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.*), payable annually.

The third of the annual income of sinecure benefices, when in the gift of the church or the crown, the revenues of which amount to three hundred ducats, eight hundred and twenty-five livres tournois, (34*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*)

The last two mentioned taxes are only levied upon such incumbents as have been presented to benefices subsequent to the year 1780. The produce is appropriated to the maintenance of hospitals, or houses of industry for the poor.

The *mesada*, or one month's income upon the pensions assigned to prelates, deans, canons, and other beneficed clergy, when they do not exceed three hundred ducats, eight hundred and twenty-five livres tournois (34*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*), does not include three per cent. ad valorem; and is payable only once, at the time the pension is granted.

The *media annata*, or six months' income, with the

the three per cent. ad valorem upon the same, when they exceed three hundred ducats.

The *expolios y vacantes*, consisting of the revenues belonging to vacant bishoprics, deanries, canonries, and other benefices of royal or ecclesiastical patronage, denominated *economats*, sequestrations, in France.

The *temporalidadas* comprise the revenues and property of religious orders suppressed, as the Jesuits, the Antonines, &c.

A tax is imposed upon bishoprics, deanries, canonries, abbacies, and commanderies of the different military orders, for the purpose of pensioning the institution of the grand cross of the new order of Charles the Third.

The *benevolence*, which attaches to all the clergy.

The *ecusado*, which is equally payable by all the clergy.

The *subsidio*, or *casa dezmera*, to which all are likewise subjected.

The *tercias reales;* a tax consisting of two ninths of all the tythes; which produces at least six millions of reals, fifteen hundred thousand livres tournois (62,500*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*), according to the first fruits office, whose statements are usually below the actual value.

List of the produce from taxation of the Clergy.

	Reals de vellon.	Money sterling.
	R. M.	*L.* *s.* *d.*
Quindennes ..... *Expolios y vacantes* ..... *Temporalidades* ..	not known.	
Mesada, on benefices where the revenue does not amount to 300 ducats	215,400 0	2,243 15 0
Mesada, on ecclesiastical pensions that do not amount to 300 ducats	50,000 0	520 16 8
Media annata, on benefices where the revenue exceeds 300 ducats	1,360,000 0	14,166 13 4
Media annata, on ecclesiastical pensions exceeding 300 ducats	960,000 0	10,000 0 0
A third of the revenues of benefices, the annual income of which amounts to 600 ducats.....	1,6800,000 0	17,500 0 0
A third of the revenue of benefices which do not exceed 300 ducats.....	248,000 0	2,583 6 8
Tax on the pensions of the order of Charles III *	1,400,000 0	14,833 6 8
Escusado ..... *Benevolence* ..... In 1778 .... *Subsidio* courant.	5,850,617 27	69,042 5 $4\frac{1}{4}$
Portion du *subsidio* mortgaged in 1778 ..	9,663,375 5	100,662 15 $2\frac{1}{2}$
Tercias reales	6,000,000 0	75,000 0 0
TOTAL.....	42,347,392 32	306,552 18 $10\frac{3}{4}$

Direct Taxes.

The direct taxes are divided into *rentes generales et rentes provinciales*, *general* and *provincial rents*; the first are levied on every part of the monarchy, except Biscay; the second are peculiar to the provinces annexed to the crown of Castile, not being collected in Biscay, Navarre, nor in the provinces belonging to the crown of Aragon, including Aragon, Catalonia, and the kingdom of Valencia.

* The portion of ecclesiastical taxes here enumerated, are those paid by the clergy of Old Spain. Another portion is paid by those of the American colonies, amounting to 8,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

The

The *general rents* comprise the revenues of the post-office, customs, the *indultos*, or premiums paid for licences to ships trading to America, taxes on tobacco, salt, lead, playing cards, quicksilver, stamped paper, sealing-wax, gunpowder, and sulphur; the last nine articles are sold on the king's account.

The revenues of the post-office, and the produce of taxes on tobacco, salt, lead, cards, and stamped paper, although constituting part of the general rents, is paid into the hands of different cashiers: a separation of the different articles was formerly made in the mode of receipt, but many branches were united in the year 1800.

The money arising from the salt tax is divided into two portions: one is paid into the royal treasury, and the other is applied to the construction and repair of roads, bridges, and causeways. In time of peace all the salt-pits are worked on the king's account, with the exception of those in the vicinity of Puerto-real, in the kingdom of Seville, five only of which are royal property: the salt of these is not allowed to be sold in the interior of the kingdom.

Three mines of rock salt are very productive; one near Valtierra in Navarre; another upon the mountain of las Contreras in New Castile; and a third at Casdona in Catalonja. Two salt-pits, one at Elche in the kingdom of Valencia, and the other

at Villena in the kingdom of Murcia, furnish annually on an average six thousand tons of salt, which is exported to foreign countries, and sells for 888,000 reals, 222,000 livres tournois, (9,166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*); besides a quantity sent into the interior of the kingdoms. Among the numerous salt-pits in the environs of Cadiz and Puerto real in the kingdom of Seville, five belong to the king. They produce about one million six hundred thousand quintals of salt, which, after deducting the expence of manufacturing, yields a net profit of 6,400,000 reals, 1,600,000 livres tournois (6,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) Salt is made at various other places, especially at the port of Iviça in the island of the same name, where the quantity is very great.

Spain has three kinds of tobacco, that called properly *Spanish tobacco*, and by the Spaniards *polvillo*, snuff; cut tobacco, the use of which was long prohibited, having been allowed only a few years; and rolled leaf tobacco, prepared for smoking, under the name of *cigarros:* this article forms one of the most important branches in the finances of Spain. The first two are manufactured on the king's account at Seville, and the third arrives ready prepared for use: that from the Havanna is most esteemed. In the year 1793 the price of these three kinds of tobacco were, for Spanish tobacco, *pulvillo*, or snuff, forty reals, ten livres tournois, (8*s.* 4*d.*) per pound; at present it sells for fifty

fifty reals, twelve livres, ten sols, (10*s.* 5*d.*) Cut or shag tobacco, best Virginia, sells for forty-two reals, ten livres, ten sols, (8*s.* 9*d.*) Cigarros bring more than fifty reals, twelve livres, ten sols, (10*s* 5*d.*)

The customs principally comprise the duties paid at the ports for imported or exported merchandise. The duties inward vary on different parts of the coast. The proportion in Catalonia is 4 per cent.; in Navarre $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; 5 per cent. for goods carried from Navarre into Castile; $11\frac{3}{4}$ for those brought from the frontiers of Portugal, denominated *puertos secos;* and 15 per cent. for all other parts of the kingdom. Merchandise pays no import duty in Biscay, but is subject to the same tax of 15 per cent. when it is sent into the adjoining provinces. The export duties vary according to the different articles; for instance, the duty upon wool exported in the grease is 84 reals, 21 livres tournois, (17*s.* 6*d.*) per quintal; while that of washed wool is 160 reals, 40 livres, (1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*); that of silk is 9 reals, one quartillo, 2 livres, 6 sols, 3 deniers, ($11\frac{1}{4}d.$) for every pound of 12 ounces.

A list of the produce from general rents.

	Reals de vellon.	Money sterling.
	R. M.	£. s. d.
Post-office	unknown.	
Licences for vessels destined to America		
—— Hair powder		
—— Sealing wax		
—— Quicksilver, in 1787	436,844 0	4,550 9 2
—— Sulphur, in 1787	369,417 0	473 16 10½
—— Tobacco, in 1787 *	129,007,414 0	1,343,827 4 7
—— Salt-pits belonging to the treasury	22,712,952 13	236,343 1 8$\frac{5}{12}$
—— Salt-pits belonging to the roads	50,575,627 8	526,829 8 11$\frac{1}{12}$
—— Stamped paper	7,549,403 27	78,639 12 5$\frac{1}{4}$
—— Lead, and playing cards	596,069 25	6,208 19 1$\frac{1}{4}$
Other general receipts †	120,575,627 22	1,255,954 10 9
TOTAL	331,823,353 27	3,448,827 2 9$\frac{9}{12}$

The provincial rents include a variety of articles.

These are levied from all kinds of produce of the soil, and every branch of agriculture, trade, manufacture, wheat and other grain, oil, wine, fruits, pulse, vegetables, animals of all kinds, and beasts of every description; upon all merchandise manufactured in Spain as often as it is sold; upon all foreign goods the same, after having been subject to the import duties: and these taxes must be paid every time the articles are bought or exchanged.

The husbandman, the proprietor, or farmer,

* M. Bourgoing states the produce at 20,000,000 of livres tournois, and afterwards at 129,000,000 of reals, (1,343,750*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*)

† The produce, according to M. Bourgoing, was thirteen millions of livres tournois, (541,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) in the year 1776; and eleven millions, 458,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) in 1777: but in 1787 it amounted to 129,000,000 reals, (1,343,750*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*)

cannot

cannot sell nor exchange the produce of the soil, the increase of his flocks, his poultry-yard, stud or kennel, nor the manufacturer the goods in his factory, nor the merchant those he has in his warehouses; without at every sale and re-sale paying this duty. No individual can sell his horse, ass, or pig, without being equally liable. No person can kill a calf, sheep, or lamb, from his own stock, without having previously made a solemn declaration, that the animal is *bonâ fide* one of his own herd or flock, and that he kills it merely for the use of his own family.

This duty is fixed at the rate of 2 per cent. ad valorem for home produce, and articles manufactured in Spain; but 15 per cent for that brought from foreign countries. It is paid every time the goods change their owner; and instances have occurred where they have paid it ten, twelve, and fifteen times before they came into the possession of the consumer. Numerous substances pay many times when they are converted into different forms, as grease three times; first when purchased with the animal which produces it; afterwards as tallow; and thirdly when made into candles; oxen, calves, sheep, lambs, and pigs, twice; first when purchased by the head, and secondly when the carcase is sold retail; the first three pay it a third time, upon the skins when dressed; grapes pay it three times, as fruit, when converted into wine, and again when made into vinegar; oil three times, first as oil,

second in soap, and lastly when changed into paint; wool and silk pay twice, first in the raw material, and secondly when converted into cloths and stuffs.

This duty is one grand obstacle to agricultural and manufacturing improvements, because chiefly falling upon articles of prime necessity, and of ordinary and the most extensive consumption. It principally oppresses those persons, who from their scanty means of subsistence are obliged to purchase from a fourth or fifth hand, and who consequently must pay this duty an equal number of times over: while the rich, who can buy by wholesale and of the first supplier of the market, pays it only once. The result of this tax is a chain composed of numerous links, which fetters and enslaves the people by the examinations, visits, and searches, which are often exceedingly vexatious from the dishonesty and covetousness of the subordinate officers in the excise, whom it is very difficult to satisfy, and still more so to convict of malversation; and therefore they proceed in their iniquitous career almost assured of impunity.

The *provincial rents* also include the duty of *alcavala y cientos* upon moveables and immoveables, at the rate of 14 per cent. every time they are exchanged or sold. This tax imposed by the states, which sat at Madrid in the year 1329, was at first a twentieth of the value, and was doubled by the states held at Alcala de Henarez in 1349; in the

the sixteenth century it experienced four augmentations of one hundredth each time. The moveables still further pay a previous duty in the form of timber, iron, wool, horse hair, silk, and other stuffs, and chemical substances used for painting *.

The *millones* form another portion of the *provincial rents*. This tax originally consisted of a temporary benevolence, or gratuitous aid, voted by the states for a few years; but it soon became permanent, and is perpetuated to the present day: it comprises the portion of the excise under the guaging department; and a hearth tax, amounting to about five reals, or twenty-five sols, (1*s.* $0\frac{1}{2}$*d.*) for each dwelling.

The provincial rents include also *the ordinary* and *extraordinary service* and *its fifteen thousand;* which is a duty paid by commoners after any dividend of property, made in consequence of decisions in courts of law.

The produce of the provincial rents in the year 1778 amounted to the sum of 64,060,215 reals, 15 maravedis, or 16,017,303 livres, 16 sols, 10 deniers tournois, (667,387*l.* 13*s.* $2\frac{10}{24}$*d.*); 1787 to 122,857,618 reals, or 30,714,353 livres, 10 sols tournois, (1,279,348*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*)

* The proportion is various in the different provinces and cities according to their respective privileges: the duty is mortgaged in some, and in others entirely alienated; in no part of the kingdom is the payment inforced with rigour; the average ratio of taxation is from 6 to 7 per cent.

Distinct

Distinct or peculiar Taxes.

In Spain are a great number of isolated or distinct taxes, which do not range under any of the general items above stated.

1. A duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon gold coin, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon silver coin, imported from Mexico and Peru.

2. The *frutos civiles*, which is a tax upon the revenues of all lands or property leased out, and the ratio is $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon all proprietors who reside in the places where their property is situated, and 5 per cent upon all proprietors who do not reside: this attaches equally to the nobility as well as commoners.

3. A tax denominated *las siete rendas*.

4. Particular taxes upon pork, bacon, fish, and groceries.

5. Taxes upon brandy, beer, taverns at Madrid, and upon the privilege or freedom of the same city.

6. A particular tax upon wool, including various duties, which amounts in the aggregate to 84 reals, or 21 livres tournois, (17*s*. 4*d*.) per quintal, for wool exported in the grease, and double that sum for wool, when it has undergone the process of scouring.

7. Numerous sources of revenue arise from taxes and duties of various descriptions under the appellations of *rentes affermees*, *consentimientos*, or compositions,

compositions, *effectos extraordinarios*, *cristales*, *casa de aposento*, *proprios y arbitrios*, *et manufactures de draps*.

8. The *cruzada*. This tax was established during the period the Spaniards and the Moors were in a constant state of warfare, and when the papal see granted indulgencies to all who contributed to the furtherance of the cause against the infidels, either in person or with their property. The bulls which contained these indulgences have been perpetuated, although the object for which they were at first granted has long been removed: they are still sold on the king's account, at the price of 21 quarters, 12 sols, 4 deniers, ($6\frac{1}{12}d.$) for every copy. And such is the tyranny of superstition, that if any person refused or even neglected to purchase one of these bulls annually he would be considered as wavering towards apostacy from the catholic faith. The privilege conferred by them is, permission to eat meat every Saturday throughout the year, and four days in a week during Lent.

9. Numerous consolidated duties which are produced from estates, the one under the denomination of *autres valeurs de tresorerie*, and the other under the name of *principal de rendas*.

Produce

Produce of distinct or peculiar taxes.

	Reals de vellon.	Money sterling.
	R. M.	£. s. d.
Frutos civiles.....	The produce is not known.	
Siete rendas.....		
Tax on bacon, fish, groceries.....		
Duty on gold and silver coin, coming from Peru and Mexico, in 1782 *	19,481,000 0	202,927 1 8
Brandies, in 1778	4,593,020 30	47,843 19 $4\frac{3}{12}$
Beer, in 1778	748 5	7 15 $0\frac{1}{2}$
Taverns in Madrid	213,138 4	2,219 2 $11\frac{1}{2}$
Entries in Madrid	7,500,000 0	78,125 0 0
Wools, in 1784 †.....	22,668,003 10	235,875 0 $5\frac{3}{4}$
Quit-rents, in 1778.....	6,538,856 15	68,113 1 $9\frac{3}{4}$
Consentimientos.....	60,797,907 8	633,311 10 $8\frac{1}{2}$
Effectos extraordinarios.....	16,091,899 16	167,623 19 $0\frac{1}{2}$
Cristales, in 1778	907,924 14	9,457 10 11
Casa de aposento, in 1778.....	1,084,251 9	11,295 5 $8\frac{1}{2}$
Propios y arbitrios, in 1778.....	74,266 0	773 12 1
Manufacture of cloths in 1778.....	2,960,381 33	30,837 6 3
Cruzada, in 1778.....	18,954,641 30	197,194 3 $6\frac{1}{2}$
Other receipts of the treasury, in 1778	15,801,410 32	164,598 0 $7\frac{7}{12}$
Principal de rendas, in 1778.....	44,479,111 10	468,615 14 10
TOTAL.....	222,646,461 12	2,318,817 4 7

Particular Taxes belonging to certain Provinces.

Biscay is subject to none of the preceding imposts: it forms as it were a separate state, exempt from custom, visits of guards, and duties on merchandise; it furnishes the king with a certain military and naval contingency; pays its portion of taxation, under the name of a benevolence, *donativo*, which it raises without the

* The gold and silver mines in Mexico produced in 1782, twenty-seven million piastres fortes, one hundred thirty-five million of livres tournois, (5,625,000*l.*); of which about 22,250,000 piastres, (4,635,416*l.*) were imported into Spain.

† This tax was leased or farmed, and did not produce in 1777 and 1778 but about 11,200,000 reals, (116,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*); at present it is received on the king's account, and brought, in 1787, 27,449,246 reals, (219,422*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*)

interference

interference of officers belonging to the crown; and it lays the contribution by certain divisions between the cities and districts, the assessment of which is made by grants; but the result is not generally known. The import trade of Navarre is equally exempt from taxation, not paying duty till the articles are sent out of the province*.

The kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia are not subject to the duty of *Alcavala;* in lieu of that tax they pay a single *contribution* bearing in Valencia the name of an *equivalent*, and is far less burthensome; what the ratio is I have not been able to learn: it is assessed equally upon all kinds of property, but is very moderate.

The *provincial rents* do not extend to Catalonia, that province is subject to taxes peculiar to itself.

1. The tenth of the rent of houses, lands, tythes, and mills.

2. An equal tax upon merchants on account of their merchandise.

3. A duty of $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. upon labour, reckoning a hundred and eighty days of labour for a year, at three reals of Catalonia, fifteen sols, three deniers, $7\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{4}d.$ for each day's earnings; which amounts upon the industry of each la-

* The custom-houses are at Vittoria, just going out of Alava, at Orduna, adjacent to Biscay proper, and at Agrada, and on the confines of Navarre.

bourer

bourer to forty-six reals, twelve livres, five sols, three deniers tournois, (10*s.* $2\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{3}{14}$*d.*).

4. A duty of $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. upon the labour of workmen, mechanics, and manufacturers, reckoning one hundred and eighty days for one year, at three reals of Catalonia, five sols, ten deniers, 7_2 $\frac{0}{24}$*d.* for each day's work; which makes a sum for each person of forty-six reals, twelve livres, five sols, three deniers, (10*s.* 2_2*d.*).

5. Three reals of Catalonia, five sols, ten deniers, $7\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{10}{24}$*d.* a poll tax upon all the larger animals, as oxen, cows, horses, and mules.

6. A real and a half, seven sols, and eleven deniers $3\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{11}{24}$*d.* on the head of every animal of a middle size.

7. One-third of a real of Catalonia, two sols, nine deniers, $1\frac{9}{24}$*d.*, for every animal of a smaller kind.

These different duties produce annually about 24,640,440 reals, 6,160,110 livres tournois, (256,671*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.*)

8. A tax upon the sale of glass.

9. A tax in lieu of furnishing lodging, straw, fuel, and other articles, for the use of the army.

The

The amount of these different taxes for Catalonia afforded the following result:

	Reals de vellon.	Money sterling.		
	reaux.	l.	s.	d.
The seven first taxes	24,640,440	256,621	5	0
Tax upon mirrors and glass	48,420	504	7	6
Lodging, straw, food, and other articles for the army	6,800,000	70,833	6	8
Total	31,488,860	327,958	19	2

General list of the finances of the continent of Spain.

	Reals de vellon.		Money sterling.		
	reaux.	mar	l.	s.	d.
Personal revenues *	18,922,989	16	197,114	9	4½
Rights of chancery †	7,025,205	26	74,221	0	6
Upon the clergy ‡	42,547,392	0	443,190	0	0
General receipts §	331,823,353	27	3,456,488	3	11
Provincial receipts	122,857,613	0	1,279,764	14	7
Local taxes ‖	222,646,461	12	2,319,442	5	11
Particular taxes of some provinces ¶	31,488,860	0	328,008	9	2
Total	777,311,861	23	8,098,829	0	5½

* The revenues arising from the crown lands, and from the mines worked on the king's account in Spain, are not included in this statement.

† These do not comprise the produce of letters patent for noble rank, restoration of titles, licences for legitimation, dispensations, &c.

‡ This does not include the *quindennes*, the *expolios y vacantes*, nor the *temporalidadas*.

§ In these are not comprised the produce of the post-office, licences for ships and vessels, duty on sulphur, quicksilver, sealing-wax, and gunpowder.

‖ These do not include the amount of the *frutos civiles*, the *siete rendas*, duty on cocoa, fish, and groceries.

¶ In this is not estimated the *contribution unique* of Aragon, and the kingdom of Valencia, nor the taxes of Biscay.

The

The revenues of the king of Spain, upon the continent, appear to have greatly increased. *Don Vincent de Cangas-Inclan*, in his representations on the origin and nature of the royal revenue, presented to king Philip the Vth, fixed it at the sum of sixteen millions of petty crowns, forty millions of livres tournois (966,666*l.* 13*s.*4*d.*); which revenues that prince then enjoyed from the provinces belonging to the crown of Castile, without reckoning the tax on the clergy, and those provinces still comprise three parts of Spain; these revenues at present for the whole of Spain amount to 194,357,512 livres, (8,097,813*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*); without including numerous other sources, which, from inability to obtain accurate information as to their produce, are not included in this statement.

Finances in the Spanish colonies.

The king of Spain derives considerable revenues from the two Indies; but the expence of collecting, &c. is so great, as to absorb nearly two-thirds. The first writer who furnished anything like a correct account of this country was Dr. Robertson, in the notes to his History of America. He has given a description of Mexico from the collections made by *Villa Senor**, who had been the receiver, in one of the most con-

* This author wrote in the year 1614.

siderable

siderable departments of the royal revenue. The details on Peru are from the statement drawn up by *Francis Lopez Caravantes;* but both those being of many years standing, can be of little utility towards developing the present state. It may, however, be remarked, that there is a considerable difference between them —which is, that the revenues of Peru have continued nearly the same, while those of Mexico have increased to an extraordinary extent. A much later account is also inserted in Robertson's work, and may at least serve as a basis for a more accurate statement of the present revenues of the country*. This is here presented, and is after corrected by the various changes which have taken place, collected by the learned M. de Humboldt, who kindly communicated them for the purpose.

* These revenues principally arise from duties upon gold and silver, cards, *le pulque*, an Indian beverage, stamped paper, salt, glass, leather, gunpowder, copper from Mechoacan, alum, the juego los Gallos, the moiety of the ecclesiastic annates, a ninth from bishoprics, Indian tribute, the alcavada, quicksilver, the bulls for crusade, duties upon merchandise, &c. &c. and taxes on negro slaves.

List of the revenues of America and the Philippine islands.

	Piastres fortes.	Money sterling.		
		l	*s.*	*d.*
Alcavala and customs	2,500,000	520,833	6	8
Duty on gold and silver	3,000,000	625,000	0	0
Bulls for the crusade	1,000,000	208,333	6	8
Tribute from the Indians	2,000,000	416,666	13	4
Sale of quicksilver	300,000	62,500	0	0
Paper exported from Spain on the king's account, and sold at the royal warehouses	300,000	62,500	0	0
Stamped paper, Tobacco, Other minor duties	1,000,000	208,333	6	8
Duty on coinage *	300,000	62,500	0	0
Trade of Acapulco, Coasting trade	500,000	104,166	13	4
Negro trade	200,000	41,666	13	4
Trade in *mathé* †	500,000	104,166	13	4
Ancient revenues of the jesuits	400,000	83,333	6	8
Total	12,000,000	2,500,000	0	0

Since the period when this statement was formed the revenues of Mexico have been doubled, and those of the other parts of Spanish America, as well as the Philippine isles, have considerably increased, although not with equal progression. The country where they have been the most stationary is Peru, the revenues of which have scarcely experienced any variation. Some branches of Mexican revenue have increased in an extraordinary manner; tobacco, for instance, brings in at present 18,000,000 livres tournois; sugar, the produce

* At the rate of a real de Plata, ten sols tournois, fivepence, for every marc of eight ounces.

† A particular herb of Paraguai, the sale of which was monopolized by the Jesuits.

of

of which was scarcely any thing, is now very considerable; but the most important part is the produce of the silver mines, which also furnish an augmented sum to the king, both in the duties he receives from the gross article, and also when coined into money: the annexed table from the obliging communications of M. de Humboldt, will give a clear and accurate view of this matter.

At the period when Spain commenced working the mines, and long after, it derived but little profit; annually about from two to three millions of piastres fortes: at present the annual produce both of gold and silver amounts to 35,000,000 of piastres, of which

Mexico alone furnishes	22
Peru	6
New Granada or the vice-royalty of Santa-Fé	2
Chili	2
Vice-royalty of Buenos-Ayres, or Rio de la Plata, which comprehends Potosi	3
Total	35

The principal mines of America are those of New Spain, or properly Mexico, which produced in the year 1803, 23,166,000; of which

The mine of Guanaxuato afforded from	5 to 6 millions.
Ditto of Catorca	3 to 4 ditto.
Ditto of Zacctecas	2½ to 3 ditto.

The whole produce of the gold and silver

mines in Spanish America* has greatly increased during the course of the last century, and apparently followed the other branches of administration in the old and new world. Annexed is a statement of the amount at different periods.

In 1700	3,379,122
1725	7,370,815
1726	8,466,146
1727	8,133,088
1749	11,823,500
1750	13,209,000
1751	12,631,000
1773	18,932,760
1774	12,892,074
1775	14,245,286
1798	24,004,589
1799	22,053,125
1800	18,685,674
The year of the greatest produce was that of 1796, when it amounted to	25,644,000
In 1797	25,080,000
The present annual average is	22,000,000

The principal causes of this prodigious increase consist in the augmentation of American population, and of manufactures, and especially from the advantages which have resulted to every country under the government of Spain, by *the freedom granted to trade*, in the year 1778.

* New Spain or rather Mexico has an annual demand for 16,000 quintals of mercury, of which 1200 are imported from Germany. The Mexicans paid in the year 1590, 187 piastres per quintal; in the year 1765, 82; since 1777, 41, for that obtained from Almadon; and 63 for that from Germany. A great economy therefore is evident as to the price. The whole of America consumes annually 30,000 quintals.

It

It has been previously remarked, that the twelve years subsequent to the royal edict issued on the occasion, the produce of the mines had increased beyond that of the twelve preceding years 52 millions of piastres, or 250 millions livres tournois,(10,416,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*); and there is no reason why the working should not produce from thirty to even forty millions annually, if ever the population should be sufficiently great, or that new sources of revenue did not develop new means; and then the royal income would proportionably increase, as it has latterly done.

Public revenues from Mexico alone.

	piastres fortes.
In 1712 - - - - - - - -	3,000,000
1764 - - - - - - - -	6,000,000
1792 - - - - - - - -	19,000,000
Total produce for three years before the free trade	131,135,000
Of three years after the edict of 1778 - -	232,305,000
Augmentation in three years - - -	101,167,000
Or otherwise more than 500 millions of livres tournois.	
The average annual revenue - - -	20,000,000

The years divided.

Duties on metallic productions - - -	4,000,000
Revenue on tobacco - - - - - -	3,500,000
Alcavala - - - - - - - -	2,888,000
Tribute from the Indians - - - -	900,000

Gross revenue.

That of Mexico about - - - - -	20,000,000
Peru near - - - - - - -	3,500,000
The Philippine isles - - - - -	3,500,000
Total revenues of the Spanish colonies	27,000,000

From this sum must be deducted the expenses of collecting and receiving, which are very considerable. The governing department, the staff of the troops, tribunals, and many other items, which together nearly absorb two-thirds of the whole amount: so that scarcely more than nine million of piastres fortes arrive at the royal treasury from the American colonies; and that only in time of peace, for war makes great additions to the various expenses, and then not more than thirty-five millions of livres tournois arrive. But this produce must not be simply considered, because attached to it are a variety of commercial profits, which double and even treble this return. The correspondence and connection between the colonies and Spain produce a revenue arising from the duties, payable by both countries, nourish trade, and allows the receipt of taxes upon necessaries as well as upon manufactured articles.

Having thus furnished all the information which could be collected respecting the royal revenues

revenues in the two hemispheres, I shall proceed to the deduction of the expenses of the state, and taking as a basis the public expenditure of the year 1778; which has also been made equally the basis for receipts, as well as disbursements, as far as relates to the continent of Spain.

Royal revenues on the continent of Spain -	194,257,512
Nett revenues from the Colonies - -	36,000,000
Total	230,257,512

This is certainly a considerable receipt, but the expenditure is equally so; and it is almost impossible to appreciate teh expenditure of government in an accurate manner. Spain maintains large military and naval establishments: it supports a vast number of tribunals of different descriptions, and the expenses incurred for the collecting and receiving the taxes are also very great great. The old government had suffered the number of persons employed to increase to a shameful extent; and it kept over them no vigilant eye: whence arose a contraband trade doubly onerous, by diminishing the revenues of the state established upon the *estanco*, and rendered useless the money paid for their collection.

But as various changes have been made in the different departments of administration, subsequent to the year 1778, endeavours have been

used to procure more novel documents, and the following statements, it is trusted, will be found correct: the subjoined account of the receipts and disbursements for the year 1791 contains every necessary information.

A statement

A statement of the sums lodged in the royal treasury, and payments made out of the same in the year 1791.

Entry of general and provincial rents in the year 1791.

	Reals de vellon.		Money sterling.		
	r.	m.	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Receipts on tobacco	55,041,433	23	573,348	5	3
Provincial receipts	65,405,872	14	681,311	3	4½
Salt pits	16,556,550	16	172,505	14	7½
General receipts	133,306,782	33	1,388,612	6	3¾
Brandies	71,205	0	741	14	4½
Wools	13,093,518	33	136,390	16	4
Extraordinary or casual effects	8,900,358	19	92,712	1	4
Produce on lead and playing cards	656,985	7	6,843	11	10½
La casa de aposento	891,353	33	9,284	18	7½
Propios y arbitrios	486,932	4	5,072	4	1
Tax upon beer	11,007	3	114	13	1½
Stamped paper	4,424,820	31	46,091	17	8
Duty on inns	213,038	4	2,219	2	11
Farmed duties	8,305,956	4	86,520	7	6
Cloth manufactory	6,177,774	20	64,351	16	4
Balance in the treasury at the end of 1791	99,836,037	0	1,039,958	14	4½
Receipts and revenues in the Indies	142,456,768	32	1,483,924	13	6
Total receipts	555,830,832	13	5,790,004	1	7
Demi-annates	793,265	3	8,263	3	6½
Lanzas	535,972	22	5,583	0	2
Fines granted by the tribunals	223,859	29	2,331	17	5½
Privileges granted by the chamber of Castile	521,642	15	5,433	15	6½
Produce of the pasturage in Serena	310,236	0	3,231	12	6
Rent of masters	1,205,307	16	12,555	5	8
Bail of notary publics	485,288	8	5,055	1	8
Tax du subsidio de l'escusado, and ecclesiastical pensions	4,337,741	30	45,184	16	2½
Bulls for the crusade	20,441,279	0	212,929	19	9½
Permanent tax de la casa excusada	9,130,522	32	95,109	12	3
The lottery	5,115,333	0	53,284	14	4½
All sums received by the treasurer up to the time his function ends	133,600,754	8	1,370,841	3	9
Deficient remittances of persons unable to pay in money, and for which goods have been distrained	4,507,579	20	46,953	19	0½
Sums paid and remitted to the treasurer	5,489,499	20	57,182	5	8½
For the consentimientos according to the receipts given by the treasurer of the army	57,959,572	11	613,745	10	10
Total	800,488,687	17	2,537,685	18	6

Disbursements

Disbursements or appropriation of the funds, 1791.

	Reals de vellon.		Money sterling.		
	r.	m.	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Pay of the guards attached to the royal household, and the ordinaries and extraordinaries of that corps	47,740,929	6	497,301	6	10½
The offices of foreign affairs and the exchequer	8,977,395	2	93,514	10	7½
The officers of justice and courts of the same sitting at Madrid or in the provinces	19,759,879	13	20 582	1	7½
State pensions	3,356,698	14	24,757	5	6
The sums paid for ecclesiastical pensions to vicars	9,201	0	95	16	5½
To ambassadors and envoys in foreign courts	9,316,729	0	97,049	5	2½
The three per cent. and premiums	4,854,598	0	50,508	14	7
Extraordinary expenses of government	82,551,362	0	59,910	0	5
Treasurers and paymasters	34,768,930	4	362,176	7	1
The four per cent. royal debentures	17,373,498	17	180,973	19	5½
Discharges and receipts audited and approved	146,829,025	5	1,529,469	0	2½
Testamentary tents	5,321,050	5	55,417	3	10½
Grants, bills, and debts before liquidated by the treasury	11,930,597	4	124,277	1	0½
For the equipment and clothing the army	8,960,820	4	93,341	17	6
Victualling the army	25,744,297	8	268,169	1	6¼
Life guards and halberdiers or spearmen	4,748,678	9	49,465	7	11
Regiments of Spanish and Walloon infantry guards	12,521,918	24	130,436	13	1
Regiments of infantry, invalids and militia	58,797,784	11	612,476	18	4
Regiments of artillery and staff	7,213,814	24	75,138	13	10
Cavalry and dragoons	22,799,643	27	23,749	13	3
Staffs of different places	7,401,014	20	577,093	17	4½
General officers	5,935,261	14	61,825	12	8¼
To ministers of war and state	4,566,449	2	47,567	3	6½
Supernumeraries who are not classed in the corps in which they may occasionally serve	5,396,030	11	56,208	12	11
To the corps of engineers	1,616,334	14	16,836	16	3
Widows for remittance in arrear of six doubloons	22,675	22	236	4	0½
War pensions	2,035,172	0	21,199	14	2
The patriotic fund for granting bounties in time of war	652,211	6	6,793	17	3½
The descendants of Oran and the peaceable Moors	60,461	33	629	16	2½
Pay of the army and navy	34,710,646	33	361,569	4	9
Pay of soldiers and expence of hospitals	9,536,783	27	99,341	9	11½
Fortification and artillery expences	26,319,222	16	274,158	11	4

Extraordinary

	Reals de vellon.	Money sterling.
	r. m	*l.* *s.* *d.*
Extraordinary war expenses.....	31 876,133 '0	332,043 1 0½
Expenses allowed to treasurers....	132,073,686 8	1,375,800 1 3
Bank of piety for the military and its administration	4,725,654 2	49,204 14 7
Total.....	800,488,687 17	7,629,349 15 9½

A detail of expenses belonging to the royal household contained in the first article of the preceding statement.

	Reaux de vellon.	Money sterling.
	r. m.	*l.* *s.* *d.*
Pensions allowed to the most illustrious princes, infants, and infantos	5,972,000 0	62,208 6 8
To the royal household and dependants	22,065,987 2	228,812 7 3½
The royal stable and attendants ..	12,048,106 1	125,501 3 4
The old domestics of the infant don Luis	176,791 5	1,841 11 5½
The domestics of the infant don Carlos	6 720 0	70 0 0
For counts and other relations ...	41,589 28	433 4 6½
To nurses	96,553 18	1,005 15 ?
To convents, parishes, congregations, chapels, and hospitals	775,+17 2	8,077 5 2½
Lords of the bed-chamber and others	653,851 10	6,810 18 11½
To different domestics who are not supported by the state	733,703 15	8,.63 11 6½
Physicians, surgeons and apothecaries.....	52,845 1	545 4 10½
Painters, sculptures, and architects	292,155 20	3,043 1 7
Carpet manufactory, china, and watch-makers.....	1,473,916 21	15,353 5 11
The widows, wards of the royal household, equerries and others	1,856,965 21	19,343 7 9½
Pensions, consignments, and other debts contracted by his majesty while prince of Asturias	884,355 32	9,212 0 9½
The same by the queen.....	860,491 30	8,963 9 1½
Total.....	47,740,929 6	499,384 14 4

Collection and receipt of taxes.

The collecting the taxes is very expensive in Spain. Various attempts to introduce economy in this department have been made at different periods, and also to adopt one general and invariable plan. Sometimes the royal revenues have been leased out, sometimes compounded for, and at others paid into the treasury.

The revenues of the interior were leased out or farmed till the year 1714; they were afterwards received by the administration, and again leased in 1716. Representations against the lessees or farmers, and the abuses committed in the collection of the taxes, were numerous in the years 1734 and 1740; the revenues belonging to the provinces annexed to the crown of Castile were received by the administration under the prime minister Campillo: similar remonstrances being made by other provinces, the royal duties were every where put into the hands of administration in the year 1747, under the reign of Ferdinand the VIth., and his minister Ensenada: and this plan, with a very few exceptions, is still pursued.

The number of tax-gatherers is very great; they amount in the whole to about twenty-eight thousand, according to the subjoined list, which does not include the guards necessary to enforce the payment, and to prevent smuggling, and they are also very numerous.

Cards

Cards	11
Sulphur	8
Powder	
Copper of riotinto	290
Manufacturing cards for America	
Sorting of wools	221
Storekeepers	3,571
General rents	994
Provincial rents	3,150
Salt	1,515
Tobacco	4,587
Salesmen of tobacco	13,575
Total	27,922

The inconveniences attending the tax, known under the appellation, *provincial rents*, have been long experienced, more especially as respects the mode of collection; and various methods have been attempted for their removal. Ferdinand the VIth, in the year 1749, established a commission, denominated "*Sala unica contribucion*," which was empowered to consolidate all imposts of this description into one general tax. The commission still exists; but it has not to the present period accomplished the object of its institution.

The state of Spanish finances in general is very complicated; the collection of them varies so much in different places: delivered to the arbitrary will of the administration, and frequently to that of the receivers, it is ever subject to the extortions of the multitude employed in this department,

partment, and every where attended with harassing exceptions, and perplexing difficulties.

Numerous courts belong to the different branches of finance. Every inspector presides as judge in the district which is under his superintendance for every matter relative to the taxes and duties payable on provisions, manufactures, or merchandize.

The *colecturia general de expolios y vacantes* takes cognizance of the tax, bearing the latter name.

The *tribunal apostolico y real de la gracia del escusada* is appointed for the business of that name.

The *comisaria general de la cruzada* decides litigations or disputes relative to the cruzada, the escusada, and the subsidio or ecclesiastical benevolence.

The *superintendencia general y jusgado de coreos y postas* principally superintends the business of the post-office, and government messengers.

The *real y suprema junta de apelaciones de los juzgados de correos y postas* has the power of reversing the judgments of the former in cases of appeal.

The *real junta del tabaco* inspects the receipt and funds respecting the article of tobacco.

The *tribunal de la contaduria mayor* is established for the examination and auditing the accounts of treasurers, receivers, collectors, and farmers of the royal revenues.

The

The *counsel royal des finances* is divided into two offices, the one for administration, and the other for the purpose of settling all disputes respecting the taxes, and receiving their gross amount.

NATIONAL DEBT.

The national debt consists in bonds accumulated of credit, ever since the reign of the latter princes of the Austrian family, down to the period when the last royal *vales*, or exchequer bills, were issued in the reign of Charles the IVth. The first, denominated *juros*, were founded by Philip the Vth on his accession to the throne; but that prince, instead of paying them off, added to the debt the sum of forty-five millions of piastres. Ferdinand paid off none, and notwithstanding the probity, economy, and good wishes of Charles the IIId., nearly the whole of the accumulated debt descended unliquidated to the time of Charles the IVth; when the circumstances of the kingdom, so far from admitting of retrenchment and economy in the public treasury, drew Spain into ruinous wars and extraordinary expenditure. The government then was obliged to have recourse to unusual resources, and to burthensome loans, injurious to individuals, and destructive of national prosperity. At the commencement of the American war, deprived of bringing home the

the revenues from Mexico, it negotiated a loan of nine millions of simple piastres, and issued paper to the amount of that sum. This paper money consisted of 16,500 bills, or *vales reals*, which bore an interest of four per cent.; but not being current, like the exchequer bills in England, nor negotiable, like portions of loans in Russia and Holland, they became more or less valuable according to events, and circumstantially obtained a greater or less degree of credit. Still government, as its wants increased, continued to issue more *vales*, even to the sum of 431,998,500 reals; and soon the whole debt amounted to 800,100,000 reals. At times small portions have been redeemed, but immediately afterwards others have been issued. The war of 1793, and more especially that of 1799 and 1800, sunk theif value from 60 to 70 per cent.; they rose again, but they have been unable to obtain circulation. They remain at present at the estimated sum of 1,800,000,000 of reals, and are divided into *vales reales*, which are not in circulation, nor taken in payment of taxes; and *vales dinero*, which differ only from the former in having been turned into money by the redemption board or chest. This chest, distinguished by the name of *casa de consolidacion*, was lately established for consolidating and diminishing the national debt; it had an income independent of the state, appropriated for that purpose, consisting

ing of ecclesiastical revenues bequeathed for performing masses, known under the denomination of *memorias y confradias*. This chest or board was empowered by papal bulls to sell other property belonging to some monastic orders, on condition only of paying out of the produce a rent of three per cent.; with these revenues the interest of the *vales* is paid, and large portions of them had been redeemed and were redeeming at the time the late war with England broke out, since which period the redemption of the vales has nearly ceased.

The sums designed for such redemption were then proposed to be paid into the public treasury for the service of the state, as an advance to government to be repaid after the conclusion of a peace; but instead of advancing these sums to the treasury, the chest became responsible for payment of certain expences of the state, and the latter at the same time allotted the former a portion of the public revenue. From these grand changes, and this accumulation of national business, the board of the redemption-chest became the administrators for the finances of Spain. This board has also a considerable time exercised the functions of a bank at Madrid; for it discounts commercial property against bills or *vales dinero*, so called because they were payable at sight, similar to bills issued by the bank at Paris. It is very probable that the king will

pay particular attention to the means of gradually liquidating the national debt, or at least prevent it from increasing beyond that extent to which it perhaps should exist in every well organised state, for the purpose of facilitating the transactions of numerous individuals. The national debt in Spain, immense as at first sight it appears to be, is trifling when compared with the resources of the country; and would scarcely be sufficient for the funded interest and other transactions, if public credit were again re-established, and the restoration of peace once more gave energy and extension to manufactures and commerce.

Tables of Spanish Measures, Weights, and Monies.

The various provinces of Spain experienced great differences respecting their customs and usages, as well as their laws and privileges. The latter have been successively changed or abolished; but the former being of less importance, were suffered to remain, and they are nearly the same at present as they were in the most remote ages, and the great disparity between them occasions much trouble and perplexity in every kind of commercial relation, or bartering concern. Apparently this inconvenience might easily be remedied; but to obtain uniformity in weights, measures, &c has ever been found a difficult task in all countries. Attempts in Spain have hitherto failed: in the meanwhile, as far as custom is consulted, the following tables may serve to supply the deficiency.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

MEASURES IN SPAIN.

MEASURES greatly vary in different parts of the monarchy.

Long measure.

The pied de roi*, or royal foot, though a standard measure, is very little used in Spain; many provinces having their peculiar foot of various lengths.

	Contain	Reduction in royal feet.
Foot in Catalonia	12 inches.	11 inches $\frac{3}{4}$ of lines.
Inch in Valencia	12 lines.	11 lines $\frac{82}{343}$.
Foot in Valencia	12 inches.	11 inches 2 lines $\frac{1}{2}$.
Inch in Castile	12 lines.	10 lines $\frac{1}{2}$.
Foot in Castile	12 inches.	11 inches 4 lines.

* The pied de roi or royal foot being a standard measure in Spain as well as France though little used, the length of a foot differing from it in most of the Spanish provinces, and the feet in those again differing so materially from each other, it has been thought sufficient to give the various relations of the provincial measures to each other, and the method of reducing them to the regulating measure of the royal foot. To those who may be desirous of comparing them with English measures, the following equation may be useful. The pied de roi, or royal foot, consists of 153,41 lines, the English foot of 144, the former therefore is to the latter, as 153,41 to 144 or 93,86=100= 100,00. By this equation the reduction of any of these measures is simple by decimals.—T.

Of royal feet 100 are equivalent to 102 feet 7 inches of Catalonia, to 107 feet of Valencia, to 115 feet 10 inches and 4 lines of Castile.

One hundred feet of Catalonia are equal to 92 feet 2 inches 3 lines of the royal foot, to 97 feet 5½ lines of Valencia, and 104 feet 11 inches 11 lines of Castile.

In Valencia 100 feet are equivalent to 93 feet 4 inches 10 lines of the royal foot, to 98 feet 9 inches of Catalonia, and 107 feet 2 inches 6 lines of Castile.

In Castile 100 feet are equal to 86 feet 1 inch 5 lines of the royal foot, to 93 feet 4 inches 9½ lines of Valencia; and 92 feet 2 inches 3 lines of Catalonia.

Cloths and stuffs in Catalonia are measured by *canas*, in other parts of the kingdom by *varas;* the *cana* is divided into eight *pams*, the *vara* into four.

Reduction

Reduction to the standard of the royal foot.

	feet.	inches.	lines.
Pam of Catalonia	0	7	4
Cana of Catalonia	4	10	8
Six pams make the Paris ell.			
Pam of Castile	0	7	8
Vara of Castile	2	6	8
Five pams $\frac{2}{3}$, or one vara one pam $\frac{2}{3}$ make the Paris ell.			
Pam of the kingdom of Valencia *	2	9	4
Five pams and a little more than $\frac{1}{5}$, or one vara one pam and a little more than $\frac{1}{5}$ make a Paris ell.			
Pam of Aragon	0	6	$7\frac{3}{8}$
Vara of Aragon	2	2	$5\frac{1}{2}$
Vara of the Asturias †	2	5	9
A little less than six pams, or one vara two pams make a Paris ell.			
Pam of Galicia for linen drapery	0	9	2
Vara of Galicia for ditto ‡	2	6	8

* Twelve varas are equivalent to thirteen varas of Castile, and one hundred varas to a hundred and eight varas $\frac{1}{3}$ of Castile. Alicant has a peculiar vara, which exceeds one in a hundred, the length of that in Castile.

† One hundred varas are equivalent to one hundred and three varas $\frac{1}{6}$ of Castile.

‡ The vara of Galicia varies in different places; the length at

Saint Jago ..... 444 lines $\frac{24}{25}$ of Castile.
Allariz ..... 561.. $\frac{3}{5}$
Pontearres..... 552.... $\frac{24}{25}$
Cacharao, Bangueras } 540

One hundred varas of Saint Jago make.... 103 varas of Castile.
One hundred varas of Allariz..... 130
One hundred of Pontearres..... 128
One hundred of Cacharao 125

Proportions of long measure of Spain with that of France.

Measures in Catalonia.	Royal foot. feet	inch.	lines	Paris ells*
One pam	0	7	4	$\frac{1}{2}$
Two pams	1	2	8	$\frac{1}{3}$
Three pams	1	10	0	$\frac{2}{3}$
Four pams	2	5	4	$\frac{5}{6}$
Five pams	3	0	8	1
Six pams	3	0	8	$1\frac{1}{6}$
Ten pams	6	1	4	$1\frac{2}{3}$
Twelve pams	7	4	0	2
Twenty pams	12	2	8	$3\frac{1}{3}$
Thirty pams	18	4	0	5
Forty pams	24	5	4	$6\frac{1}{3}$
Fifty pams	30	6	8	$8\frac{1}{3}$
Sixty pams	36	8	0	10
Seventy pams	44	8	8	$11\frac{2}{3}$
Eighty pams	51	1	4	$13\frac{1}{3}$
Ninety pams	57	6	0	15
One hundred pams	63	10	0	$16\frac{2}{3}$
One cana	4	10	8	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Two canas	9	9	4	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Three canas	14	8	0	4
Four canas	19	6	8	$5\frac{1}{3}$
Five canas	24	5	4	$6\frac{2}{3}$
Ten canas	48	10	8	$13\frac{1}{3}$
Twenty canas	97	9	4	$26\frac{2}{3}$
Forty canas	195	6	8	$53\frac{1}{3}$
Sixty canas	293	4	0	80
Eighty canas	291	1	4	$106\frac{2}{3}$
One hundred canas	488	10	1	$133\frac{1}{3}$
Nine pams and $\frac{4}{9}$ make a fathom.				
One foot	0	11	$0\frac{2}{3}$	
Two feet	1	10	$1\frac{1}{2}$	
Three feet	2	9	$2\frac{1}{3}$	

* As the reduction into English measure would in this instance of such small numbers consist of vulgar or decimal fractions, and could answer no useful purpose as to its application to larger numbers, it has been thought advisable not to crowd the pages, but to give an equation by which any quantities in the respective measures may with facility be reduced to the English standard. The vara of Madrid consists of 395,25 lines, the English yard of 432, hence arises the following equation, 109,30=100=100,00. The Paris ell contains 523 lines, hence compared with the English yard, the proportion is 96=100=100; or if the common bartering ell be adopted of 524 lines, then the equation will be, 96,73=100=100,00.—Dubost's Elem. of Commerce, vol. ii.—T.

Four

	Royal foot.			Paris ells.
	feet	inc	lines	
Four feet	3	8	3	
Five feet	4	7	$9\frac{3}{4}$	
Ten feet	9	2	$7\frac{1}{2}$	
Twenty feet	18	5	3	
Thirty feet	22	7	$10\frac{1}{2}$	
Forty feet	36	10	6	
Fifty feet	46	1	$1\frac{1}{2}$	
Sixty feet	55	3	9	
Seventy feet	64	6	$4\frac{1}{2}$	
Eighty feet	73	9	0	
Ninety feet	82	11	$7\frac{1}{2}$	
One hundred feet	92	2	3	

Six feet six inches one line make a French fathom.

Measures of Aragon.

One pam	0	6	$7\frac{3}{8}$	
Two pams	1	1	$2\frac{3}{8}$	
Three pams	1	7	$10\frac{1}{8}$	
Four pams	2	2	$5\frac{1}{2}$	
Five pams	2	9	$0\frac{5}{8}$	
Five pams $\frac{5}{8}$				1
Ten pams	5	6	$1\frac{6}{8}$	
Eleven pams $\frac{1}{4}$				2
Sixteen pams $\frac{7}{8}$				3
Twenty pams	11	0	$3\frac{1}{2}$	
Twenty-two pams $\frac{3}{4}$				4
Twenty-eight pams $\frac{1}{8}$				5
Thirty pams	25	6	$5\frac{2}{8}$	
Forty pams	34	0	7	
Fifty pams	42	6	$8\frac{5}{8}$	
Fifty-six pams $\frac{1}{4}$				10
Sixty pams	51	0	$10\frac{1}{2}$	
Seventy pams	59	7	$0\frac{2}{8}$	
Eighty pams	68	1	2	
Ninety pams	76	7	$3\frac{5}{8}$	
One hundred pams	85	1	$5\frac{1}{2}$	
One hundred and twelve pams $\frac{1}{2}$				20

Ten pams $\frac{7}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of eight make a French fathom.

One vara	2	2	$5\frac{1}{2}$	
One vara $\frac{25}{42}$				1
Two varas	4	4	6	
Three varas $\frac{9}{16}$				2
Three varas	6	6	$11\frac{1}{2}$	
Four varas	8	9	5	
Five varas	10	11	$10\frac{1}{2}$	
Seven varas $\frac{1}{8}$				4
Ten varas	21	11	9	
Fourteen varas $\frac{1}{4}$				8
Seventeen varas $\frac{13}{16}$				10

	Royal feet.			Paris ells.
	feet	inch.	lines	
Twenty varas	43	11	6	
Thirty-four varas $\frac{5}{8}$				20
Forty varas	87	11	0	
Sixty varas	131	10	6	
Sixty-nine varas $\frac{1}{4}$				40
Eighty varas	175	10	0	
One hundred varas	219	9	6	
One hundred and three varas $\frac{7}{8}$				60
Measures in Valencia.				
One pam	0	8	4	
Two pams	1	4	8	
Three pams	2	1	4	
Four pams	2	9	4	
Five pams	3	5	8	
Five pams $\frac{4}{6}$				1
Ten pams	6	11	4	
Eleven pams $\frac{2}{6}$				2
Seventeen pams				3
Twenty pams	13	10	8	
Twenty-two pams $\frac{4}{6}$				4
Twenty-eight pams $\frac{2}{6}$				5
Thirty pams	20	10	0	
Thirty-four pams				8
Forty pams	27	9	8	
Fifty pams	34	9	0	
Fifty-six pams $\frac{4}{6}$				
Sixty pams	41	8	4	
Seventy pams	48	7	8	
Eighty pams	55	7	6	
Ninety pams	62	6	10	
One hundred pams	69	6	0	
One hundred and thirteen pams $\frac{1}{3}$				20
Eight pams $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{17}$ make a French fathom.				
One vara	2	9	4	
One vara one pam $\frac{4}{6}$				1
Two varas	5	6	8	
Two varas three pams $\frac{1}{3}$				2
Three varas	8	4	0	
Four varas	11	1	4	
Four varas one pam				3
Five varas	13	10	8	
Five varas two pams $\frac{2}{3}$				4
Seven varas $\frac{1}{3}$ of one pam				5
Eight varas two pams				6
Ten varas	27	1	2	
Fourteen varas $\frac{1}{3}$ of a pam				10
Seventeen varas				12
Twenty varas	54	2	4	
Twenty-eight varas one pam $\frac{1}{3}$				20
Thirty-four varas				24

Forty

	Royal feet.			Paris ells.
	feet	inch.	lines	
Forty varas	108	4	8	
Fifty-one varas	.....			36
Sixty varas	162	7	0	
Fifty-six varas two pams $\frac{2}{3}$	.....			40
Sixty-seven varas three pams $\frac{1}{3}$	.....			48
Eighty varas	216	9	6	
Eighty-four varas three pams $\frac{1}{3}$	.....			60
One hundred varas	270	11	10	
One foot	0	11	$2\frac{1}{2}$	
Two feet	1	11	5	
Three feet	2	9	$7\frac{1}{2}$	
Four feet	3	8	10	
Five feet	4	8	$0\frac{1}{2}$	
Ten feet	9	4	1	
Twenty feet	18	8	2	
Thirty feet	28	0	3	
Forty feet	37	4	4	
Fifty feet	46	8	5	
Sixty feet	56	0	6	
Seventy feet	65	4	7	
Eighty feet	74	8	8	
Ninety feet	84	0	9	
One hundred feet	93	4	10	

Six feet five inches three lines make a French fathom.

Measures in Castile.

One pam	0	7	8	
Two pams	1	3	4	
Three pams	1	11	0	
Four pams	2	6	8	
Five pams	3	2	4	
Five pams $\frac{1}{4}$	.....			1
Ten pams	6	4	8	
Eleven pams $\frac{1}{2}$	.....			2
Seventeen pams $\frac{1}{4}$	.....			3
Twenty pams	12	9	4	
Twenty-three pams	.....			4
Twenty-eight $\frac{3}{4}$	.....			5
Thirty pams	19	2	0	
Forty pams	25	6	8	
Fifty pams	31	11	4	
Fifty-seven pams $\frac{1}{2}$	.....			10
Sixty pams	38	4	0	
Seventy pams	44	8	6	
Eighty pams	51	1	4	
Eighty-six pams $\frac{1}{4}$	.....			15
Ninety pams	57	6	0	
One hundred pams	63	10	8	
One hundred and fifteen pams	.....			20

Nine pams $\frac{6}{15}$ make a French fathom.

One

	Royal feet.			Paris ells.
	feet	inch.	lines	
One vara	2	6	8	
One vara one pam $\frac{3}{4}$				1
Two varas	5	1	4	
Two varas three pams $\frac{1}{2}$				2
Three varas	7	8	0	
Four varas	10	2	8	
Four varas one pam $\frac{1}{4}$				3
Five varas	12	9	4	
Five varas three pams				4
Seven varas $\frac{3}{4}$ of a pam				5
Ten varas	25	6	8	
Eleven varas two pams				8
Fourteen varas one pam $\frac{1}{2}$				10
Twenty varas	51	1	4	
Twenty-eight varas three pams				20
Thirty varas	76	8	0	
Forty varas	102	2	8	
Forty-three varas $\frac{1}{2}$ pam				30
Fifty varas	127	9	4	
Fifty-seven varas two pams				40
Sixty varas	153	4	0	
Seventy varas	178	10	8	
Seventy-one varas three pams $\frac{1}{2}$				50
Eighty varas	204	5	4	
Eighty-six varas one pam				60
Ninety varas	230	0	0	
One hundred varas	255	6	8	100
Two varas one pam $\frac{6}{15}$ make a French fathom.				
One foot	0	10	4	
Two feet	1	8	8	
Three feet	2	7	0	
Four feet	3	5	4	
Four feet three inches				1
Five feet	4	3	8	
Eight feet six inches one line				2
Ten feet	8	7	4	
Twelve feet nine inches one line $\frac{1}{2}$				3
Seventeen feet two lines				4
Twenty feet	17	2	8	
Twenty-one feet three inches two lines $\frac{1}{2}$				5
Thirty feet	25	10	0	
Forty feet	34	5	4	
Forty-two feet six inches five lines				10
Fifty feet	43	0	8	
Sixty feet	51	8	0	
Seventy feet	60	3	4	
Eighty feet	68	10	8	
Eighty-five feet ten lines				20
Ninety feet	77	6	0	
One hundred feet	86	1	5	
Six feet eleven inches eight lines make a French fathom.				

LAND MEASURE.

I. *In the provinces belonging to the crown of Castile.*

Land is measured in the provinces belonging to the crown of Castile by *ungadas*, *fanegas*, *estadales*, *brasses*, *varas*, *pas*, and *aranzadas*.

		In royal feet.		
		feet	inch.	lin.
The *ungada* contains	50 fanegas	204,144	5	4
The *fanega*	400 estadales	4,033	10	8
The *estadal*	2 brasses	10	2	8
The *brass*	2 varas	5	1	4
The *vara*		2	6	8
The *pas*	$\frac{5}{3}$ of a vara	4	2	$11\frac{1}{2}$
The *aranzada*	73 varas $\frac{1}{3}$ en carré	151	7	5

The *aranzada* only is used for vineyards.

In the district of Toledo.

The *fanega* contains	500 estadales	5,111	1	4

In Seville.

The *fanega* contains	500 estadales	5,111	1	4
The *aranzada*	400 estadales	4,333	4	0

The *aranzada* is used to measure vineyards, gardens, and land planted with olives.

II. *In Biscay.*

Land is measured in the district of Sant Andero by *carros*, *plazas*, and *celemines*.

The *carro* varies; it is		feet	inch.	lines.
Sometimes	44 feet carrés of Castile.	37	10	8
Sometimes	60	51	8	0
Sometimes	70	60	3	4

III. *In*

III. *In Valencia.*

Land is measured in the kingdom of Valencia by *yugadas, cahizadas, fanegas, brasses* and *pams.*

		feet.	inch.	lines.
The *yugada* contains	6 cahizadas	45,000	0	0
The *cahizada*	6 fanegas	7,500	0	0
The *fanega*	200 brasses	1,250	0	0
The *brass*	9 pams	6	0	0
The *pam*		0	8	0

CORN MEASURES.

Weights by the pound of sixteen ounces.

I. *In the kingdom of Castile.*

Corn is measured in the provinces belonging to the crown of Castile by *cahizes, fanegas, celemines,* and *quartillos.*

		pounds.	ounces.
The *cahiz* contains	12 fanegas	1,528	0
The *fanega*	12 celemines	124	0
The *celemine*	4 quartillos	10	$5\frac{1}{3}$
The *quartillo*		2	$7\frac{1}{4}$
In the Asturias.			
The *fanega* is $\frac{1}{3}$ greater than in Castile		161	$5\frac{1}{3}$
In Granada.			
In the district of Malaya, the *fanega* is $\frac{10}{100}$ larger than in Castile		136	$5\frac{1}{3}$
In Galicia.			
The measures of this province are not uniform; they vary in different districts. The reckoning is by *fanegas, ferrados,* and *celemines.*			
The *fanega* contains in some places	4 ferrados		
Ditto in others	6 ferrados		
Ditto in others	12 celemines		
Ditto at Betanzos, Orense, and Lugo	5 ferrados		

The

		pounds.	ounces.
The *fanega* contains at Ferrol	4 celemines. ..	165	0
Ditto at Neda.....	.....	165	0
Ditto at Lugo for wheat.....	.....	173	0
Ditto at Corunna	.....	145	12
The *ferrado* at Corunna.....	.....	36	7
Ditto at Neda, it is $\frac{12}{100}$ larger and is the most used.....	.....	41	4

The *celemine* of Corunna is the smallest.
That of Ferrol is larger by $\frac{12}{100}$.
That of Lugo is still larger for wheat, but smaller for rye.

II. *In Biscay.*

The measure in Biscay is by *fanegas*, *celemines* and *quartillos*, as in Castile.

		pounds.	ounces.
The *fanega* is $\frac{6}{100}$ larger than in Castile.....	.....	131	$5\frac{3}{4}$

III. *In Catalonia.*

Grain is measured by *salmas*, *charges*, *quarteras*, *cortans*, and *picotis*.

		pounds.	ounces.
The *salma* contains.....	Two charges or 6 quintals *	546	0
The *charge*.....	2 quarteras or 3 quintals.....	273	0
The *quartera*.	12 cortans or 1 quintal $\frac{1}{2}$.....	136	8
The *cortan*.....	4 picotis or 13 pounds of 12 ounces.....	11	6
The *picoti*..	3 pounds $\frac{1}{4}$ of 12 ounces.....	2	$13\frac{1}{2}$

IV. *In Valencia.*

Corn is measured in the kingdom of Valencia

* The ounce is $\frac{1}{7}$ larger in Catalonia than in Castile; 6 ounces of Catalonia making 7 of Castile.

by

by *charges, cahizes, barchillas, celemines,* and *quarterons.*

		pounds.	ounces.
The *charge* contains.....	3 quintals, each 120 pounds 12 ounces..	315	0
The *cahiz* *.....	12 barchillos.....	463	1
The *barchilla* †.....	4 celemines.....	38	$9\frac{3}{4}$
The *celemine*.....	4 quarterons.....	9	$8\frac{2}{5}$
The *quarteron*.....	.....	2	$5\frac{1}{13}$
In the district of Alicant.			
The *cahiz* weighs ‡.....	.....	558	0
The *barchilla*.....	.....	46	$7\frac{1}{3}$
The *celemine*.....	.....	11	$7\frac{2}{5}$
The *quartillo*.....	.....	2	$10\frac{3}{5}$

V. *In Aragon.*

Grain is measured by *cahizes* in the kingdom of Aragon.

The *cahiz* weighs.....	262 pounds.

ITINERARY MEASURE.

	Varas of Castile.	French toises.				Pieds de roi.		
		tois.	pied.	p.	l.	pied.	p.	l.
Common league.....	$6,666\frac{4}{5}$	2,269	5	7	$6\frac{2}{3}$	13,619	7	$6\frac{2}{3}$
Ancient legal league....	$8,333\frac{1}{3}$	2,838	9	7	4	17,037	7	4
Legal present league..	5,000	1,704	0	4	0	10,222	2	8
New league, the length fixed in 1760.....	8,000	2,725	5	6	8	16,355	6	8

The present legal league is divided into three thousand steps or eighty stadia, each containing 125.

* Equivalent to 3 fanegas 8 celemines $\frac{4}{13}$ of Castile.

† Equivalent to 3 celemines $\frac{3}{4}$ of Castile.

‡ Nearly adequate to 4 fanegas $\frac{1}{2}$ of Castile.

LIQUID MEASURE.

Pounds of sixteen ounces.

I. *For Honey.*

Honey is measured at Madrid by *arobas* aud *quartillos.*

		pounds.	ounces.
The *aroba* contains.....	32 quartillos...	48	0
The *quartillo*.....	.....	1	8

II. *For Vinegar.*

The measures for vinegar are every where nearly the same as for wine; but at Madrid the aroba or cantara, which contains twelve azumbres of wine, consists of only nine of vinegar.

III. *For Oil.*

1. *In New Castile.*

Oil is measured in New Castile by *arobas* and *quartillos.*

		pounds.	ounces.
The *aroba* contains.....	4 quartillos...	25	0
The *quartillo*.....	.....	6	4
These measures are different at Madrid.			
The *aroba* there is	28 lbs. of 14 oz.	24	8
The *quartillo*.....	7 lbs. of 14 oz.	6	2

2. *In Seville.*

Oil is measured at Cadiz by *pipes and arobas.*

The *pipe* contains.....	34 arobas.....	850	0
The *aroba*	.....	25	0

They measure at Seville by the *aroba mayor, aroba menor,* and *quadrillo.*

The *aroba mayor* contains	42 quartillos..	25	0
The *aroba menor*.....	36 quartillos .	21	$7\frac{3}{4}$
The *quartillo*.....	.....	0	$10\frac{5}{21}$

The difference between these two *arobas* is $16\frac{1}{3}$ in the hundred; the custom is to reckon 34 *arobas mayores* for 40 *arobas menores.*

3. *In*

3. *In Valencia.*

Oil is measured in the kingdom of Valencia by *charges*, *arobas*, and *cantaros*.

		pounds.	ounces.
The *charge* contains	12 arobas	378	0
The *aroba*	36 pounds of 12 oz. Valencian.	31	8
The *cantara*	28 pounds 1 ounce Valencian.	24	$8\frac{6}{7}$

4. *In Aragon.*

Oil is measured in the kingdom of Aragon by *arobas* and *arobetas*.

The *aroba* weighs	36 lbs. of 12 oz.	27	0
The *arobeta*	24 lbs. of 12 oz.	18	0

5. *In Catalonia.*

Oil is measured in Catalonia by *charges*, *arobas*, *cortans*, and *quartas*.

The *charge* contains	11 arobas	250	4
The *aroba*	30 cortans or 26 p. of 12 ounces Catalan	22	12
The *cortan*	16 quartas	1	$6\frac{3}{4}$
The *quarta*		0	$1\frac{4}{5}$

IV. *For Wine.*

1. *In New Castile.*

Wine is measured in New Castile by *moyos*, an imaginary measure, *cantaras*, *arobas*, *azumbres*, *quartillos*, and *sextarios*.

The *moyo* contains	16 cantaras	516	0
The *cantara*	1 aroba	34	2
The *aroba*	8 azumbres	34	2
The *azumbre*	4 quartillos or sextarios	4	4
The *quartillo* / The *sextario*		1	1
These measures are different at Madrid.			
The *moyo* contains	16 cantaras	768	0
The *cantara*	12 azumbres	48	0
The *azumbre*	4 quartillos	4	0
The *quartillo*		1	0

2. *In*

2. *In the Asturias.*

Wine is measured in the Asturias the same as in New Castile, but the measures are larger by $16\frac{2}{5}$ in the 100.

		pounds.	ounces.
The *cantara* contains.....	8 azumbres	39	$9\frac{1}{5}$
The *azumbre*	4 quartillos	4	$15\frac{1}{5}$
The *quartillo* *	.....	1	$3\frac{4}{5}$

3. *In Galicia.*

Wine is measured in Galicia by *moyos, canadas, ollas, azumbres,* and *quartillos.*

The *moyo* contains	4 canadas	21760	0
The *canada*	16 ollas.....	5440	0
The *olla*	68 azumbres ...	340	0
The *azumbre*	4 quartillos	5	0
The *quartillo*	.....	1	4

4. *In Seville.*

Wine is measured at Cadiz by *tonneaux, arobas, azumbres,* and *quartillos.*

The *tonneau* contains.....	30 arobas	1020	0
The *aroba*	8 azumbres	34	0
The *azumbre*	4 quartillos	4	4
The *quartillo*	.....	1	1

At Seville it is measured by *cantaras* or *arobas, azumbres* and *quartillos.*

The *cantara* / The *aroba* contains	8 azumbres	34	2
The *azumbre*.....	4 quartillos	8	$6\frac{1}{2}$
The *quartillo*	.....	1	1

The cantara or aroba there only contains 32 quartillos; it is however usually divided into 36.

5. *In Aragon.*

Wine is measured in the kingdom of Aragon by *charges* or *nietros, cantaras* or *arobas,* and *cuartos.*

The *charge* / The *nietro* contains †	16 cantaras.....	420	0
The *cantara* / The *aroba* contains ‡	4 cuartos	26	4
The *cuarto*	9 pounds of 12 oz. of Aragon	6	9

* 6 quartillos in the Asturias make 7 quartillos of New Castile.

† Weighs 4 quintals, each consisting of 144 pounds of 12 Aragonese ounces.

‡ Weighs 36 pounds, each containing 12 Aragonese ounces. N.B. The ounce of Aragon is $\frac{1}{12}$ less than the ounce in Castile.

6. *In Valencia.*

Wine is measured in the kingdom of Valencia by *botas* or *tonneaux*, *charges*, *arobas* or *cantaras*, and *azumbres* or *cuentas*.

		pounds.	ounces.
The *bota* or *tonneau* contains * ..	4 charges	1575	0
The *charge* †	15 cantaras or arobas.....	393	12
The *cantara* or *aroba* ‡	4 azumbres or cuentas	26	4
The *azumbre* or *cuenta* §	.....	6	9

7. *In Catalonia.*

Wine is measured in Catalonia by *pipes*, *charges*, *quintals*, *arobas*, *quarteros*, *quartos*, and also by *pipes*, *charges*, *cortans*, *quarteras* and *quartillos*.

The *pipe* contains	4 charges	1095	0
The *charge*.....	3 quintals.....	273	12
The *quintal* ‖	4 arobas	91	4
The *aroba* ¶	22 quarteros ...	22	12
The *quartero* **	4 quartos	0	$10\frac{3}{8}$
The *quarto*	2 ounces $\frac{7}{16}$ of Catalonia	0	$2\frac{11}{24}$
By another method of measuring.			
The *charge*	16 cortans	273	12
The *corton* ††	2 quarteros	17	$1\frac{1}{2}$
The *quartero* ‡‡	4 quartillos	8	$8\frac{3}{4}$
The *quartillo*	2 pounds 5 ounces $\frac{1}{4}$ of Catalonia.	2	$2\frac{1}{8}$

* Weighs 1800 pounds of 12 Valencian ounces. The ounce of Valencia is heavier by $\frac{1}{7}$ than that of Castile.

† Weighs 450 pounds, each containing 12 ounces of Valencia.

‡ Weighs 30 pounds of 12 Valencian ounces.

§ Weighs $7\frac{1}{2}$ pounds and 12 Valencian ounces.

‖ The quintal contains 104 pounds, each containing 12 Catalonian ounces. The ounce of Catalonia exceeds that of Castile $\frac{1}{8}$th.

¶ Weighs 26 pounds, each consisting of 12 Catalonian ounces.

** Weighs $9\frac{3}{4}$ ounces of Catalonia.

†† Weighs $19\frac{1}{2}$ pounds, each consisting of 12 Catalonian ounces.

‡‡ Weighs 9 pounds 9 ounces of Catalonia.

CHAPTER XI.

WEIGHTS IN SPAIN.

SPANISH weights do not vary less than their measures. The various provinces have their particular weights. The pound generally consists of 16 ounces in that part of the kingdom belonging to the crown of Castile, and of 12 ounces in those annexed to the crown of Aragon; viz. in Aragon, in the kingdom of Valencia, and in Catalonia; but the ounce is not the same.

I. *Weights in Castile.*

In Castile they reckon by *charges, quintals, arobas, arreldes, pounds, ounces, and drachms.*

Weights by pounds of 16 ounces, or weights de marc.

		pounds.	ounces.
The *charge* contains —	— 3 quintals	300	0
The *quintal* —	— 4 arobas	100	0
The *aroba* —	— 25 pounds	25	0
The *arrelde* —	— 4 pounds	4	0
The *pound* —	— 16 ounces	1	0
The *ounce* —	— 16 drachms	0	1
The *drachm* —	— 30 grains		$\frac{1}{15}$
The *grain* —	—		$\frac{1}{480}$

The pound of Madrid for oil is 14 ounces.

II. *Weights in Galicia.*

Two different pound weights are made use of in Galicia, the *pound* of *Castile*, and the *pound gallega*. The former is the same as in Castile; the latter is 20 ounces. The ounce does not differ from that of Castile.

They reckon by *quintals, arobas, pounds, and ounces.*

The *quintal* contains	— 4 arobas	125	0
The *aroba* —	— 25 lb. gallegas	31	4
The *pound gallega* —	— 20 ounces	1	4
The *ounce* —	— ——	0	1

III. *Weights of the Asturias.*

In the Asturias they make use of the same weights as in Castile; but they also use the *Asturian pound.*

		pounds.	ounces.
Which contains — —	24 oz. of Castile.	1	8

IV. *Weights of Guipuzcoa.*

The district of Saint Sebastian has a particular pound weight, which contains twelve ounces; the ounce is heavier by about $\frac{6}{100}$ than that of Castile. Every thing is reckoned by this pound.

The *ordinary quintal* contains —	101 pounds.	107	0
The *quintal* for grocery —	100 pounds.	105	15 $\frac{7}{8}$
The *quintal* for anchors —	101 pounds.	107	0
The *quintal* for cod-fish — —	105 pounds.	111	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
The *quintal* for iron — —	150 pounds.	159	0 $\frac{2}{5}$
The *pound* — —	12 ounces.	1	0 $\frac{2}{5}$
The *ounce* — —	———	0	1 $\frac{1}{6}$

V. *Weights of Biscay.*

The weights are not the same at Bilbao as at Sant Andero.

The pound at Bilbao is 16 ounces; but the ounce is heavier by $\frac{1}{16}$ than that of Castile.

The *quintal macho*, which is chiefly used for weighing iron, contains — —	146 pounds.	154	13
The *pound* — —	16 ounces.	1	1
The *ounce* —— —	———	0	1 $\frac{1}{16}$

The ounce of Sant Andero is the same as that of Castile; but the pound varies in the different districts of this city; in some places

it is — —	16 ounces.	1	0
In others — —	20 ounces.	1	4

The quintal varies according to the articles.

For *iron*, it contains — —	155 lb. Castile.	155	0
For *cod-fish* — —	112 0	112	0
For *cocoa*, equivalent to a fanega,	107 0	107	0

VI. *Weights*

VI. *Weights in Aragon.*

They reckon in Aragon by *charges, quintals, arobas arobetas, pounds, ounces, cuartos,* and *drachms.* The arobeta is only made use of at a few places, and in those only for oil.

		pounds.	ounces.
The *charge* contains —	3 quintals	333	$4\frac{1}{2}$
The *quintal* — —	4 arobas. 6 arobetas.	111	$1\frac{3}{5}$
The *aroba* — —	36 lb. Aragonese.	27	12
The *arobeta* —	24 lb. Aragon.	18	8
The *pound* for fish and meat —	12 oz. Aragon.	2	11
The *ounce* —— —	4 cuartos.	0	$11\frac{1}{2}$
The *cuarto* —— —	4 drachms.	0	$\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{17}$
The *drachm* —— —	32 grains.	0	$0\frac{1}{17}$

VII. *Weights of Valencia.*

They reckon in the kingdom of Valencia by *charges gordas* or large weights, *charges delgadas* or small weights, *quintals gordos, quintals delgados, arobas gordas, arobas delgadas, pounds, ounces, cuartos, drachms,* and *grains.*

The *charge gorda* contains —	2 quint. $\frac{1}{2}$ gordos.	315	0
The *quintal gordo* — —	4 arobas gordas.	126	0
The *aroba gorda* — —	36 lb. Valenc.	31	8
The *charge delgada* —	3 quint. delgad.	315	0
The *quintal delgado* — —	4 arobas delgad.	105	0
The *aroba delgada* — —	30 lb. Valenc.	26	4
The *aroba* for flour — —	32 lb. Valenc.	28	0
The *aroba* for wax, some sorts of fruit, and drugs. — —	30 lb. Valenc.	26	4
The ordinary *pound* —	12 ounces Valenc.	11	0
The *pound* for vegetables and fruits, in the city of Valencia —	16 ounces Valenc.	1	$2\frac{5}{6}$
The *pound* for fresh fish in retail	16 ounces Valenc.	1	$2\frac{2}{6}$
The *pound* for fresh fish wholesale, and salt fish — — —	18 ounces Valenc.	1	5
The *pound* for meat —	36 ounces Valenc.	2	10
The *pound* for flour —	32 ounces Valenc.	2	$5\frac{2}{3}$
The *ounce* * — —	4 cuarto	0	$1\frac{1}{2}$
The *cuarto* — —	4 drachms.	0	$\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{34}$
The *drachm* —— —	36 grains.	0	$0\frac{1}{17}$

* The ounce of the kingdom of Valencia is heavier by $\frac{1}{6}$ than that of Castile.

The weights are different at *Alicant*.

		pounds.	ounces.
The *quintal* there contains	4 arobas of the following weights	126	0
The common *aroba*	24 lb of 18 oz. Valencia.	31	8
The *aroba* for cocoa	27 lb. of 16 oz. Valencia.	31	8
The *aroba* for grocery, spice, saffron, &c.	36 lb. of 12 oz. Valencia.	31	8
The *aroba* for fruits, aniseed, cummin, almonds and barilla	96 lb. Valencia.	84	0

VIII. *Weights of Catalonia.*

The reckoning in Catalonia is by *charges, quintals, arobas, pounds, ounces, cuartos, drachms,* and *grains.*

The *charge* contains	3 quintals *.	273	0
The *quintal*	4 arobas †.	91	0
The *aroba*	26 pounds ‡.	22	12
The *pound*	12 ounces.	0	14
The *ounce* §	4 cuartos.	0	$1\frac{1}{7}$
The *cuarto*	4 drachms.	0	$\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{28}$
The *drachm*	36 grains.	0	$\frac{1}{16}$ and $\frac{1}{112}$
The *pound* for meat and fresh fish	36 ounces.	2	10

IX. *Proportion of weights in different provinces.*

The *ounce* of Aragon is heavier than that of Castile	by $\frac{1}{35}$
The *ounce* of Catalonia	by $\frac{1}{6}$
The *ounce* of Valencia	by $\frac{2}{6}$
The *ounce* of Bilbao	by $\frac{2}{16}$
The *ounce* of St. Sebastian	by $\frac{4}{160}$
36 *ounces* of Aragon make	35 ounces of Castile.
14 *ounces* of Aragon	23 ounces of Valencia.
	20 ounces of Catalonia.
100 *pounds* of Aragon	85 pounds of Castile.
110 *ounces* of Catalonia	117 ounces of Castile.
	110 ounces of Valencia.
	120 ounces of Aragon.
100 *pounds* of Catalonia	87 lb. 8 oz. of Castile.
104 *pounds* of Catalonia	91 pounds of Castile.
100 *pounds* of Bilbao	106 lb. 4 oz. of Castile.
101 *pounds* of Saint Sebastian	107 pounds of Castile.
100 *pounds* of the Asturias	150 pounds of Castile.
100 pounds of Galicia	120 pounds of Castile.

* Each containing 104 Catalonian pounds.

† Each consisting of 26 pounds of Catalonia.

‡ Each of 12 Catalonian ounces.

§ The ounce of Catalonia is $\frac{1}{6}$ heavier than that of Castile: 6 ounces of the former being equal to 7 of the latter.

X. *Apothecaries*

X. *Apothecaries weights.*

1. *In the provinces belonging to the crown of Castile.*

The *pound* contains	16 ounces.
The *ounce*	8 drachms.
The *drachm*	3 scruples.
The *scruple*	24 grains.

2. *In the provinces belonging to the crown of Aragon.*

The *pound* contains	12 ounces.
The *ounce*	8 drachms.
The *drachm*	3 scruples.
The *scruple*	20 grains.

The result is, that in the provinces of the crown of Castile the medicinal pound is heavier by 2736 grains, or four ounces six drachms, than those of the crown of Aragon, and in the former the ounce is 576 grains, and equivalent to the weight of a poids de marc; whilst in the latter it is only 540 grains, and is consequently less by 36 grains.

XI. *Weights for gold and silver or troy weight.*

The weights for gold and silver are the same almost through the whole of Spain; they are different in the kingdom of Valencia and in Catalonia.

1. *Through almost the whole of Spain.*

They reckon in almost the whole of Spain by *marcs, ounces, ochavas, tomines,* and *grains.*

The *marc* contains	8 ounces.
The *ounce*	8 ochavas.
The *ochava*	6 tomines.
The *tomina*	12 grains.

2. *In Valencia.*

They also reckon in the kingdom of Valencia by *marcs, ounces, ochavas, tomines,* and *grains.*

The *marc* contains	8 ounces.
The *ounce*	8 ochavas.
The *ochava*	6 tomines.
The *tomina*	12 grains.

There is, as in Castile, 576 grains in the ounce, and 4608 in the marc; but the grain of Valencia is heavier; the 4608 grains of Valencia are equivalent to 4764 $\frac{4}{7}$ of Castile.

The *ounce* of Valencia answers to	—	1 ounce 19 grains $\frac{1}{7}$ of Castile.
The *marc* of Valencia to	—	1 marc 156 grains $\frac{4}{7}$ of Castile.
100 *marcs* of Valencia to	—	103 marcs $\frac{1}{2}$ of Castile.

3. *In Catalonia.*

They reckon in Catalonia by *marcs, ounces, quarts, argiensos,* and *grains.*

The *marc* contains	——	——	——	—	8 ounces.
The *ounce*	——	——	——	—	4 quarts.
The *quart*	——	——	——	—	4 argiensos.
The *argienso*	——	——	——	—	36 grains.

Both in Castile and Valencia, 576 grains make the ounce, and 4608 grains the mark; but the grain of Catalonia is heavier than that of the two former provinces; it is equivalent to a grain $\frac{1}{6}$ of Castile. The 576 grains in the ounce of Catalonia make then 672 grains, or one ounce, one ochava, two tomines $\frac{2}{3}$ of Castile. The 4608 grains of the marc of Catalonia make 5392 grains, or one marc, one ounce, 98 grains of Castile.

6 marcs of Catalonia make	——	— 7 marcs of Castile.
100 marcs of Catalonia make	——	— 116 marcs 5 oz. 16 tomines of Castile.

CHAPTER XII.

MONIES OF SPAIN.

THE money of Spain is either real or imaginary, the one existing, and the other ideal: the former serves for the purpose of exchange, the latter only for keeping accounts and striking bargains; both these are common through the whole monarchy: but several of the provinces have different kinds of both real and imaginary money peculiar to each.

I. *Real Monies current throughout the whole Kingdom.*

In Spain three kinds of real monies are distinguished both in gold and silver; the old, that is, such as were coined prior to the year 1772, and those coined subsequently to that period. The former are none of them uniform, but consist of different sized small pieces of metal unequally cut, and their currency is only by weight. The others uniformly bear the effigies or head of the sovereign, on the obverse, and on the reverse side the arms of Spain: the ancient gold coins are more intrinsically valuable than the modern. The two last only will be here described*.

	Value in quartos.	Value in ochavos.	Value in maravedies.	REDUCTION in money tournois.
	mar.	mar.	mar.	l. s. d.
Maravedis.	.....	.....	1	..... 0 0 1$\frac{3}{4}$
Ochavo.	.....	1	2	..... 0 0 3$\frac{5}{8}$
Quarto.	1	2	4	..... 0 0 7
Dos quartos.	2	4	8	..... 0 1 2

Silver

* The minuteness of the reduction made into livres tournois, sols, and deniers, and the facility with which these may be reduced to the standard of English sterling money, renders any further reduction unnecessary. The livre tournois in exchange has been usually reckoned equivalent

Silver Money of modern Coinage.

	Value in quartos.	Value in ochavos.	Value in mara vedies.	REDUCTION in real and mar. de vellon	in money tournois.
	q. m.	och.	mar.	r. m.	l. s. d.
Real. Real de vellon. Realito. Medio real de plata.	8 1	17	34	1	0 5 0
Real de plata. Media peceta.	17 0	34	68	2	0 10 0
Peceta. Real de a dos.	34 0	68	136	4	1 0 0
Escudo. Medio duro.	85 0	170	340	10	2 10 0
Duro. Pezoduro. Real de à ocho.	170 0	340	680	20	5 0 0

*Silver Money of less modern Coinage *.*

	q m.	o. m	marav.	r. m.	l. s. d.
Medio real de plata columnario.	5 1	20 1	21	1 8½	0 6 3
Real de plata columnario.	10 2	21 0	42	2 18	0 12 6
Peceta columnario. Real de a dos columnario.	42 2	84 2	170	5 0	1 5 0
Real de a quatro Sevillano †.	68 0	136 0	272	8 0	2 0 0
Real de à ocho Sevillano	136 0	272 0	154	16 0	4 0 0

Gold Money of modern Coinage.

	quart.	ochav.	marav.	real.	l. s. d.
Durito. Escudo chico de oro. Veinteno de oro.	170	340	680	20	5 0 0
Escudo de oro. Doblon senzillo.	340	680	1560	40	10 0 0
Doblon de oro.	680	1360	2720	80	20 0 0
Doblon de à quatre. Medio doblon de à ocho. Media onza de oro.	1360	2720	5440	160	40 0 0
Doblon de à ocho. Onza de ora.	2720	5440	10880	320	80 0 0

equivalent to tenpence English money; but its strict nominal value has at times varied, as previously observed; twenty sols or sous make a livre, and twelve deniers a sol or sou.

* This is distinguishable by the two columns which support the arms on the reverse side.

† Coined in the year 1718; but few of these remain in circulation.

Gold

Gold Coins of less modern Coinage.

	Value in quartos.		Value in ochavos.		Value in maravedies.	REDUCTION. In real and mar. de vellon		In money tournois.		
	q.	m.	o.	m.	mar.	r.	m.	l.	s.	d.
Durito..... } *	180	2	361	0	722	21	8	5	6	1½
Escudo chico de oro.... }										
Veinteno de oro..... }										
Escudo de oro..... } †	340	5	681	1	1365	40	5	10	0	8¾
Doblon senzillo..... }										
Doblon de oro ‡....	682	2	1365	0	2730	80	10	20	1	5¼
Doblon de a quatro. .... }										
Medio doblon de à ocho } §	1365	0	2730	0	5460	160	20	40	2	11
Medio onza de oro..... }										
Doblon de à ocho..... }										
Onza de oro..... } ‖	2730	0	5460	0	10920	321	6	80	5	10

II. IMAGINARY MONEY.

	q.	m.	o.	m.	marav.	r.	m.	l.	s.	d.
Ducado de vellon, commonly known under the name of ducado	93	3	186	3	375	11	1	2	15	1¼
Ducado de plata nueva	140	1	280	1	561	16	17	4	2	6
Ducado de plata doble .... }	176	1	352	1	705	20	225	5	3	7¼
Ducado de plata antigua .. }										
Pezo ..... }										
Pezo senzillo ..... }	127	2	255	0	510	15	0	3	15	0
Piastra..... }										
Doblon	510	0	1020	0	2040	60	0	15	0	0

III. MONEY PECULIAR TO SOME PROVINCES.

Money of Navarre.

	q.	m.	ocha.	mar.	real.	l.	s.	d.
Cornado	.....		.....	½	.....	0	0	0⅞
Ochavo	.....		1	2	.....	0	0	3½
Gros	1	2	3	6	.....	0	0	10½
Tarja	2	0	4	8	.....	0	1	2
Four Tarjas ⅔ make	8	2	17	24	1	0	5	0

* Worth ten quartos two maravedies more than the modern durito.

† Worth five maravedies more than the modern doblon senzillo.

‡ Worth two quartos two maravedies more than the modern doblon de oro.

§ Worth five quartos more than the modern doblon de a quatro.

‖ Worth ten quartos more than the modern doblon de à ocho.

Money of Catalonia.

They reckon in Catalonia by livres, sols, deniers, or ardites; mallas or menjas and reals.

The livre is 20 sols.

The sol 12 deniers or ardites.

The denier two menjas or mallas.

The real two sous.

	Value in quartos.		Value in ochaves.		Valne in mara-vedies.	REDUCTION in real and mar. de vellon		in money tournois.		
	q.	m.	o.	m.	mar.	r.	m.	l.	s.	d.
Menja or malla	.....		.....		$\frac{2}{3}\frac{1}{3}$	.....		0	1	$3\frac{1}{2}$
Denier or ardite	.....		.....		1 $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{3}$	.....		0	0	$2\frac{7}{12}$
Sol	4	$2\frac{1}{2}$	9	$\frac{1}{3}$	18 $\frac{1}{3}$	.....		0	2	$8\frac{1}{4}$
Livre	91	$\frac{1}{3}$	182	$\frac{1}{3}$	364 $\frac{1}{3}$	10	$24\frac{1}{3}$	2	13	7
Real	9	$\frac{4}{5}$	18	$\frac{2}{5}$	36 $\frac{2}{5}$	1	$1\frac{1}{5}$	0	5	$4\frac{2}{5}$

The first and the last three of these monies are fictitious.

The current money of Spain is negotiable at Barcelona, and in almost the whole of Catalonia.

	Livres Catalonia.	Sols Catalonia.	Deniers Catalonia.
The doblon de à ocho is worth	50	.....	.....
The pezo duro	1	17	.....
The medio duro	.....	18	9
The peceta	.....	7	6
The media peceta	.....	3	9
The réal de vellon	.....	1	$10\frac{1}{2}$

Money of Aragon.

They reckon in Aragon by livres jacaises, old real de plata, sols jacais, and deniers jacais. All these monies are fictitious.

The livre jacais contains 20 sols jacais, or 10 old real de plata or of exchange.

The old real de plata or of exchange, two sols jacais.

The sol jacais, 12 deniers jacais.

	Valne in maravedies.	REDUCTION in real and maravedies.		in money tournois.		
	mar.	r.	m.	l.	s.	d.
The denier jacais is worth	$2\frac{2}{3}$	.....		0	0	$4\frac{2}{3}$
The sol jacais	32	.....		0	4	8
The old real de plata or of exchange	64	1	39	0	9	5
The livre jacais	1216	18	28	4	14	2

Money

Money of the kingdom of Valencia.

The kingdom of Valencia has two copper current coins, which are not negotiable out of the province.

	Value in maravedies.	In reals and marav. de vellon.	REDUCTION In money tournois.
	mar.		£. s. d.
The denier * is worth	1	——	0 0 $1\frac{1}{4}$
The sixaine † is worth 3 quartos ..	12	——	0 1 9

This province has several imaginary or fictitious coins; the livre provincial, the sol provincial, the denier provincial, the livre de plata de bona moneda, and the real Valencian. Every livre is twenty sols, every sol twelve deniers, and the real about two sols provincial.

	Mar.	R. M.	£. s. d.
The denier provincial	2	.....	0 0 $3\frac{1}{2}$
The sol provincial	24	.....	0 3 6
The livre provincial	476	14 0	3 10 0
The denier de plata de bona moneda	$2\frac{3}{10}$	.....	0 0 $3\frac{1}{5}$
The sol de plata de bona moneda ..	$24\frac{3}{10}$	.....	0 3 $6\frac{4}{7}$
The livre de plata de bona moneda	498	14 22	3 13 $2\frac{1}{2}$
The real of Valencia, near two sols provincial	42	.....	0 7 0

Spain has seven mints for coining money; four in the colonies; viz. at Santa-Fè, Mexico, Saint Iago, and Potosi; and three on the continent, at Madrid, Seville, and Segovia; at the latter place is only coined a sort of copper pieces. The greatest part of the silver duros, which are imported into Europe, are coined in the mint at Mexico.

* A very small unstamped coin.

† This coin has on one side the arms of Spain, and on the other V surmounted by a crown with the figure 6 within the V, and a fleur de lys.

A supreme

A supreme court is established at Madrid, under the title of REAL JUNTA DE COMERCIO, MONEDA, MINAS, &c.; which superintends and regulates all the business relative to the coinage.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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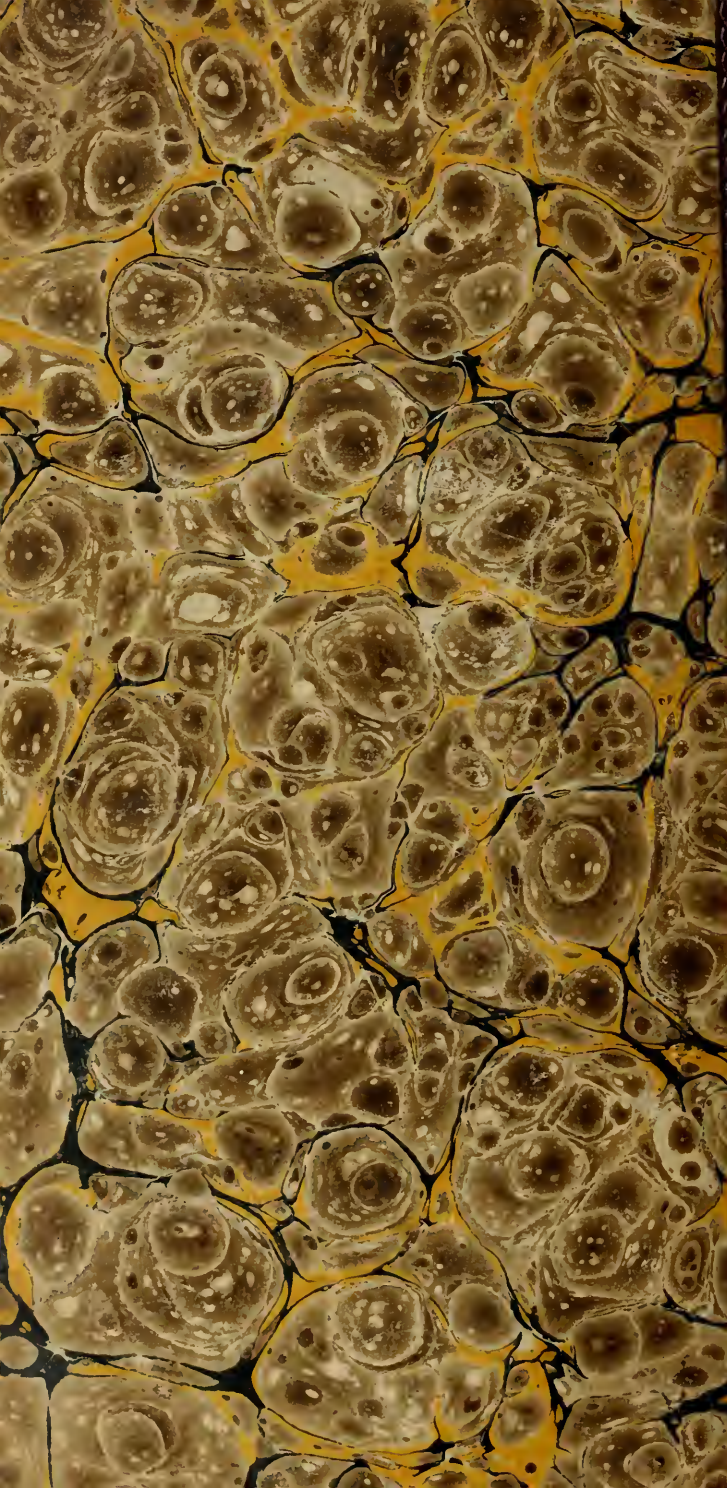
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